

Child and Juvenile Delinquency

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**Strategies of Prevention and Intervention
in Germany and the Netherlands**

edited by
René Bendit/Wolfgang Erler
Sima Nieborg/Heiner Schäfer

2000

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Table of Contents

<i>René Bendit/Wolfgang Erler/Sima Nieborg/Heiner Schäfer</i> Editorial	12
<i>Jan Willem Duyvendak/Ingo Richter</i> Preface	16
<i>Bernd Holthusen/Heiner Schäfer</i> Introduction: Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in Germany and the Netherlands	20
Part One:	
Child and Youth Delinquency in the Netherlands and in Germany: Potential and Limits of Preventive Approaches	
1 Juvenile Delinquency on the Local Political Agenda: Two Examples	
1.1 <i>Ton Peters</i> Combating Juvenile Delinquency on a Local Level: The Rotterdam Experience	28
1.2 <i>Friedrich Graffe</i> Combating Juvenile Delinquency on a Local Level: The Munich Experience	36
2 Juvenile Delinquency: Preventive Strategies against the Background of Recent Social Challenges	
2.1 <i>Christian v. Wolffersdorff</i> Juvenile Delinquency – Dealing with Maladjusted Young People and a New Desire for Law and Order	44
2.2 <i>Peter H. van der Laan</i> Chances and Limits for Crime Prevention in the Netherlands: Developments in Recent Years	56

Part Two:
Reports on Practice – Preventive Approaches
Towards
Child and Juvenile Delinquency

3	Growing up Under Difficult Circumstances: Social Deprivation, Ethnicity and Crime Prevention	
3.1	<i>Rudolf Pettinger</i> The Public Debate on Child and Juvenile Delinquency in Germany – an Introduction	75
3.2	<i>Eric Snel/Henk Ferwerda</i> Youth Delinquency in Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods	79
3.3	<i>Anton Schrama</i> The AGADIR Intervention Project	93
3.4	<i>Siep Buist</i> Area-based Justice (JIB) in Arnhem	97
3.5	<i>Alp Otman</i> Working with Parents and Families in Migrant Communities in the Context of Juvenile Delinquency Prevention	101
3.6	<i>Gerd-Rüdiger May</i> Children's and Juvenile Delinquency and Socio-Pedagogical Family Support	107
3.7	<i>Martin Rehse</i> Integrative Family Support – Family Support as a Possibility of Crime Prevention	119
3.8	<i>Jean-Marc Felber</i> Early Preventive Action in a District of Strasbourg	124
3.9	<i>Tom Cockburn</i> Young People's Perspectives on Youth Justice in Manchester	132
3.10	<i>Rudolf Pettinger</i> Summary	142
4	Juvenile Delinquency: Reactions to Criminal Acts of Youngsters and Possibilities of Preventing Recidivism	
4.1	<i>Bernd Holthusen/Stan Meuwese</i> Reactions to Criminal Acts: How to Prevent Criminal Behaviour and Recidivism – an Introduction	144
4.2	<i>Claudio Morelli/Annemieke Wolthuis</i> The Differences between German and Dutch	

	Youth Criminal Law	146
4.3	<i>Gerd Delattre</i> Victim-Offender Mediation	150
4.4	<i>Alma van Hees</i> HALT Bureaus – Fast Tracking to Juvenile Delinquency	161
4.5	<i>Ron Gerrits</i> The Haaglanden “T-Team”: Non-Residential Support for Young Homeless	165
4.6	<i>Reinhard Koch/Thomas Möbius</i> Transferring the Dutch INSTAP Method to the German System of Child and Youth Services	173
4.7	<i>Bernd Holthusen/Stan Meuwese</i> Summary and Conclusions	180

5 Youth Services Planning as Part of a Preventive Strategy

5.1	<i>Eric van Santen/Alice A.W. van Unen</i> Challenges of a Preventive Youth Policy – an Introduction	184
5.2	<i>Alice A.W. van Unen</i> Legislation in the Netherlands and Germany on Data Collection Related to Children and Young People for the Planning of (Preventive) Child Care Services.	188
5.3	<i>Eric van Santen</i> Claim and Reality – Planning Youth Welfare Services in Germany	192
5.4	<i>Frits G.C.K. Vlek</i> Monitoring Juvenile Crime and Youth at Risk: Improved Information Position as a Precondition for Effective Prevention	198
5.5	<i>Maria Blom</i> Monitoring in Groningen and Bremen on a Local and International Level	210
5.6	<i>Doris Pleiger</i> Crime-Preventive Councils: The Example of Rostock	215
5.7	<i>Cor van 't Hoff</i> A Local Example of Youth Monitoring and National Trends in the Netherlands	222
5.8	<i>Wiebke Steffen/Erich Elsner</i> Juvenile Delinquency in Munich – Findings, Reactions and Measures Required for Prevention and Intervention	228
5.9	<i>Maria Pannebakker</i> Neighbourhood Networks	239
5.10	<i>Eric van Santen/Alice A.W. van Unen</i>	

6 Empowerment Rather than Segregation: A New Preventive Approach

6.1	<i>Sabine Pankofer/Jo Hermanns</i> Empowerment Rather than Segregation of Juvenile Delinquents – An Introduction	248
6.2	<i>Norbert Herriger</i> Empowerment in the Pedagogical Work with “Adolescents at Risk”	250
6.3	<i>Jo Hermanns/Heleen van der Stege</i> Strategies of Reclaiming Delinquent Youth	255
6.4	<i>Reinhold Gerhard/Etta Fennekohl</i> A City District Helps its Kids – Short Report on the Activities of the Elementary School “Roncallistrasse”	263
6.5	<i>Yvonne Duivenvoorden</i> The SPRINT Project: Empowerment of Positive Behaviour and Competences of Adolescents	267
6.6	<i>Martina Liebe</i> “Preventive Youth Work”: An Action Program of the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations in Bavaria	276
6.7	<i>Martina Blug</i> Out-reaching Youth Work in Rural Areas: Empowerment and Prevention through Mediation	281
6.8	<i>Hyacinth Dashorn</i> The “New Perspectives”-Project in Amsterdam	285
6.9	<i>Peter Heemann</i> Youth Work and Youth Welfare Services Meet Drug Counselling Services or: “The Frankfurt Crack-Street-Project”	289
6.10	<i>Rob Rutten</i> The “Chance” (De Kans) Project in the Hague	293
6.11	<i>Sabina Pankoffer/Jo Hermanns</i> Conclusions	295

7 Reports From Other European Countries

7.1	<i>René Bendit/Sima Nieborg</i> The European Perspective: Challenges to Youth Policies in the Forthcoming Years	298
7.2	<i>Heide Tebbich</i> Youth at risk – Juvenile Delinquency and Criminal Prevention in Austria	301

7.3	<i>Galina Kouprianova</i> Child and Youth Delinquency in Russia: Teenagers in Hard Life Circumstances – Providing Rights for Under-aged Delinquents	304
7.4	<i>Jackie Russell</i> Citizenship, Responsibility, Empowerment	308
7.5	<i>Ferran Casas (Coord.)/Teresa Crespo/Anna Tarrés/Sergi Pacual</i> Risky Behaviours of Youngsters Associated to Leisure Time in Barcelona Metropolitan Area: Correlatious with some Psychosocial Variables.	328

Part Three:

Child and Juvenile Delinquency in the Context
of Youth Policy

8 Youth Policy Perspectives

8.1	<i>Reinhard J. Wabnitz</i> Juvenile Delinquency: Current Challenges and Strategies in Germany	340
8.2	<i>Frans de Jong</i> Juvenile Delinquency: Current Challenges and Strategies in the Netherlands	346

9 Outlook

	<i>Heiner Schäfer/Bernd Holthusen</i> Crime Prevention: Local Challenge, Transnational Exchange of Experiences and Networking	353
	The Authors	361

Editorial

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In many European countries, including Germany and the Netherlands, there has begun a new discussion not only on youth policy and legal measures to cope with the fact that an increasing number of children and adolescents appear in the criminal statistics as supposedly "criminal". These discussions take place against the background of increasing social problems and insecurities (unemployment, inter-ethnic conflict, child poverty, social exclusion and organized crime). The main areas of concern in this discussion have been early recognition, prevention, intervention and repression of juvenile delinquency. Moreover, the growing interest in these topics, as shown by political and academic circles as well as field workers, the emphasis being on early recognition, prevention and new methods of intervention, has its roots in both the (doubtful) results of traditional methods (including criminal proceedings) and increasing political objections to the results of innovative diversion measures.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that new perspectives to deal with such a sensitive issue are being discussed and developed. Early recognition and prevention, however, are not only equated with an early individual diagnosis, but are above all connected with concepts of environment and community orientation, local reporting, local youth services planning, "empowerment" and innovative intervention.

The present report documents, the presentations, discussions and results of the second German-Dutch "Youth at Risk"-Conference held in June 1998 (Cologne), focusing on the topic of "Juvenile Delinquency: Possibilities of Early Recognition-Prevention and Intervention". The conference involved experts in youth policy, from the academic world and from youth welfare services.

The central goals of the conference were: to examine both the connection between offences committed by children and adolescents and the conditions of everyday life which have become increasingly difficult. The dangers and risks that children and adolescents experience in their everyday lives, as well as deviant or delinquent behaviour of children and youth, were related and interpreted in the context of their living conditions and opportunities to partici-

pate in family and school activities, in common activities with members of their own age group, and in youth work projects. By describing this situation in both countries, the participants tried to convey a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency which, in the general public, is often being discussed in a distorted way. Thus, the professional discussion focused on presenting social work projects concerned with early recognition and prevention/intervention of juvenile delinquency in both countries. Such innovative models were exposed to the overall local conditions where they were developed and/or implemented. In order to win a general view on the situation of youth delinquency and prevention/intervention strategies also experiences from other European countries were discussed.

As the conference file demonstrates, this kind of information and experience exchange may help to consolidate, to extend and to translate into practical terms the contacts and the exchange of experience between experts begun in Noordwijkerhout (1996) with the first conference on "Youth at Risk". A retrospective evaluation of the effects both conferences have had upon Dutch and German researches, politicians and practitioners in this broad field shows, that before, in-between and after the Conferences a large number of direct – formal and informal – as well as virtual contacts and exchanges have taken place. They have contributed in:

- supporting the regular exchange of information and knowledge,
- improving the cooperation between German, Dutch and other experts in the fields of youth policy, youth welfare services and related research and
- supporting bi- or multi-national networks and facilitating the acquisition of knowledge about the other's "working hypotheses", organizational structures, traditions of practical achievements and strategies of prevention and intervention.

As with the first German-Dutch Conference (s. Hermanns/ Leu 1998), a meeting of this kind is expected to result in further common projects. The report presented now should be a useful document for such a purpose. Finally, the discussions held at the Conference and documented in this file, give an opportunity for Europe-wide discussions on topics and questions related to juvenile delinquency and "good practice" in the fields of early recognition, prevention and intervention.

The editors are very happy to present this report to the general public in Germany and the Netherlands (as to other interested readers in Europe). We want to thank the Federal Ministry for Families, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and the Dutch Ministry for Health, Welfare and Sport (VWS) for their generosity in supporting not only the organization of the Conference but also the publication of this conference file. We want to thank also the participants –

lecturers and working group presentators – who enriched the conference with their theoretical and practical contributions and engaged so strongly in our discussions oriented towards practical results.

Also we would like to thank for the support we received from Tanja Bendit who was in charge of the technical aspects of the conference planning and from Klaus Hardtke, Munich, who translated most of the German texts into a readable English.

We finally want to express special thanks to the German and Dutch working group presenters: Dr. Rudolf Pettinger and Dr. Eric Snel (WG I), Bernd Holthusen and Stan Meuwese (WG 2), Eric van Santen and Alice van Unen (WG 3) and Prof. Dr. Sabine Pankofer and Prof. Dr. Jo Herrmanns (WG IV) . Their knowledge in the different areas of discussion as well as their intensive communicational and organizational work during and after the Conference, have been decisive in preparing this report. Together with the conference coordinators Dr. R. Bendit, W. Eler, S. Nieborg and H. Schäfer they assume the responsibility for the more or less accurate reflection of the ideas and experiences documented in the different chapters of this book.

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Preface

Jan Willem Duyvendak/Ingo Richter
Verwey-Jonker Institute, Utrecht/German Youth Institute, Munich

In this volume, the contributions of a specialist conference held in June, 1998, in Cologne by the German Youth Institute and the Verwey-Jonker-Institute from Utrecht in the Netherlands are made available to a larger professional public. The conference and the publication on hand have continued the very successful and productive cooperation that had already proved to be reliable in September, 1996, during the Dutch-German conference "Youth at Risk" in Noordwijkerhout. The focus, then, was on risk factors that young people are confronted with. Here, the focus is on a special group of young people: juvenile delinquents.

Criminal offences, and violent acts in particular, committed by children and adolescents, have hit the headlines and have, in fact, become long-term runners in the media. Recent headlines in the Dutch newspapers are for example:

- "No 'American-style' problems in Dutch schools, nevertheless: much reasons for concern because of anti-social aggressive behaviour among students."
- "Youth violence: punished by instant-law measurements."
- "The city of Gouda counters youth crime. Gouda arms itself against louters."
- "Children that cross the line deserve a rehabilitation-programme."
- "Political opportunism decides the choice of prevention-projects."

In view of these headlines dramatizing juvenile delinquency, it comes as no surprise that anxieties and uncertainties in the population are increasing. Politics, the general public, security forces, schools and youth welfare services show themselves concerned about the clearly increasing statistical evidence of juvenile delinquency and of violent offences, in particular.

Even if we put these data down to changing attitudes in reporting offences and see them as the result of modified statistical recording or of a higher sensitivity towards aggression and "deviant" behaviour – what, in the old days, was considered a loutish act, is interpreted today as an act of violence – even if we take all this into account, an urgent need for action cannot be denied in view of

the disproportionate increase of juvenile delinquency over the last few years. In particular, acts of violence triggered by hostility to foreigners have caused a public stir and much concern.

Similar developments are occurring in the Netherlands: an increase in juvenile delinquency and violence, according to the statistics, and vociferous reactions in the media that translate into public debates and political decisions.

What measures are suitable to reduce and prevent juvenile delinquency can only be determined with the help of systematic and detailed knowledge of how it emerged and developed. In this context, the German Youth Institute has been carrying out research projects dealing with the delinquency of children, with the affective basis for xenophobia and violence, as well as the way that girls handle violence in youth-group-specific interrelations. It is the goal of these projects to analyse the overall conditions and manifestations of deviant behaviour among youths and to record the performance of youth welfare services in containing delinquent developments. The resulting insights will hopefully contribute to shaping youth policy by showing possibilities and ways of counteracting juvenile delinquency in a preventive manner. In Germany, a large number of projects are already on the way – for instance, in the context of youth and family welfare work, in schools, in vocation-oriented social work and leisure-time education – all employing preventive methods to fight juvenile delinquency. However, most of them work in isolation, they hardly take note of one another and devote themselves to different target groups. Where gaps exist, if the effects strived for are actually reached – this also remains unclarified. The “Juvenile Delinquency Centre” at the German Youth Institute wants to contribute to removing such deficiencies. Its goal is to give an overview of existing prevention measures, to disseminate information about concepts, strategies and work forms tried and tested, to review their effectiveness for various target groups in regional and local contexts, to work out evaluation standards, to promote networking among individual providers and institutions and to stimulate the exchange of field work experience among projects. As we present different European concepts and methods, we hope and expect that cooperation across national borders and different youth welfare systems will pick up and that the different approaches of science, politics and field work will promote reciprocal learning processes that will help us to give better support to young people coping with specific development tasks. Thus, we will be able to counteract the development of crime and violence.

In the Netherlands the interdepartmental Commission of Youth Research gave the topic Youth and violence a place in the so-called Top 5 of the most important topics for her research-program ‘Youth on her way to the future’. A

broad and multidisciplinary expert-group, that has made an interdisciplinary overview of research in the field of youth and violence, concluded however, great gaps remain in the knowledge about violence among young people¹.

These gaps can be observed at three levels. The first level relates to the description of violence among youth. More knowledge is needed about the specific manifestations of youth criminality in various situations and contexts. The second level concerns the explanation of violence among youth. More insight into the connection between different forms of violence for example is needed and more knowledge about risk-factors. The third level relates to lack of knowledge in the field of prevention of violence among youth. As in the United States and the United Kingdom recently there has been a shift towards a more repressive approach of youth criminality in the Netherlands. Experts however stress the importance of prevention of violence in various ways, such as providing the opportunity to hand in weapons to the police and ways to strengthen the development and competence of children. As this conference-report shows, much effort has been undertaken to prevent and stop criminal behaviour among youth in the Netherlands. On the other hand, one could argue that this effort is based on ad-hoc political decisions that are characterised by short-term experiments. Because of the lack of evaluation-research there is little insight into the effectiveness of interventions.

The Verwey-Jonker Institute carries out policy-strategic research-projects, in which three groups of actors are in scope: (groups) of citizens, (also including children and youth), professionals and their institutions, and policymakers. The interactions between these actors or the lack of interaction between them is the object of research.. Among the six research programs of the Verwey-Jonker Institute the program 'Youth' and the program 'Social Infrastructure: conceptual and institutional aspects' are especially relevant for further development of research in the field of the (prevention of) youth criminality.

The Verwey-Jonker Institute is specifically interested in two research activities. The first one is the description of the specific manifestations of youth criminality, the motivations and strategies of youth themselves and the description of reactions and programs that stop or prevent these criminalities. The way and amount of participation of young people themselves in such programs is an important focus of the research.

¹ Haan, W.J.M. de et al (1999). 'Jeugd en geweld. Een interdisciplinair perspectief'. (Youth and violence. An interdisciplinary perspective). Van Gorcum.

The second researchactivity Verwey-Jonker Institute is interested in is the evaluation of such programs. The Verwey-Jonker Institute is specialised in evaluation-research assigned to the ministry of Justice and the ministry Health, Wellbeing and Sport (VWS). In this book, our goal is to provide the reader with inspiration Also the international dimensions will be further developed. Cooperation with the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, that carries out an international research-project on marginality, social professions and youth criminality will be threnghened.

In this book, the goal is to provide the reader with inspiration, coming from the connection between good practice, scientific reflection and research. We hope that we have achieved tis goal.

Jan Willem Duyvendak
Director of the
Verwey-Jonker Institute

Prof. Dr. Ingo Richter
Chairman and Director
of the German Youth Institute

Introduction:

Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in Germany and the Netherlands

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In many industrial countries of the Western world, and not only in the Netherlands and Germany, juvenile delinquency¹ is a much discussed problem. Growing numbers of suspects among children and adolescents are to be found in police crime statistics and indicate an increasing need for action. Regardless of the question whether police statistics really prove that juvenile delinquency is rising strongly (or even dramatically), it can be said that, in both countries, more and more young people are in contact with the police, the courts and youth welfare services because of criminal offences they have committed.

In both countries, the life circumstances of children and adolescents develop in a similar way. Childhood and adolescence are influenced considerably by social change, and in the course of their development, young people have to face many challenges which, for some of them, cause serious problems. We know from a large number of investigations² that norm violations and other transgressions have always been part of young people's development and that violations of criminal law are ubiquitous. We also know that, in most cases, norm violations are a passing episode, even where no intervention occurs. And most infringements of the law by children and adolescents remain undetected, i.e. in a so-called "twilight zone". Public discussions, however, frequently (and wrongly) assume that the criminal offences which are known give a correct picture of crime as a whole, and the rates of increase in this area often lead to dramatizations.

¹ We deliberately avoid the term "child and youth delinquency" which is often being used in Germany, because, in a strict sense, it is an inaccurate expression. In Germany, young people under 14 years of age, and in the Netherlands under 12 years of age, are not responsible under criminal law. They cannot be prosecuted, taken to court or acquitted. Therefore, by definition, they are not criminal offenders. In the following, wherever young people having reached the age of criminal responsibility are at issue, we will use the term "juvenile delinquency".

² Some exemplary studies: Albrecht, G./Howe, C.-W./Wolterhoff-Neetix, J. (1988); Albrecht, P.A./Lamnek, S. (1979); Kreuzer, A. et al. (1993).

Both areas (of detected and undetected offences) trigger a variety of public reactions. Repressive strategies, by definition, are employed in the area of detected offences only, whereas preventive strategies take the "twilight zone" into account as well. It follows logically that the courts and the police deal mainly with young people who have been caught. On the other hand, youth welfare services include in their target group those children and adolescents classified as belonging to the "twilight zone".

Both in Germany and the Netherlands, the police, the courts and youth welfare services have to react to young people's offences once they have been detected. There are, however, considerable differences in both countries with regard to the penal law systems (for young offenders) and the structures of child and youth services. Though problems are much the same, ways of reacting to them are different.

There are parallels in both countries with regard to public discussions on fighting juvenile delinquency. Some call for a reinforcement of repressive strategies; others demand support for preventive strategies. Debates in the media and in political circles, emotionalized by some spectacular cases, repeatedly led to demands for a more severe penal law. In the Netherlands, such demands were finally met. In 1995, the penal law for young offenders was tightened after long discussions, although sentencing, even so, remained less severe than in Germany. In both countries, there were also discussions about lowering the age of criminal responsibility which, in the Netherlands, was 12 years, and in Germany 14 years. This issue, however, was abandoned. A rather German discussion was that about accommodation in closed institutions. This form of accommodation, pedagogically a last resort and rarely implemented, was brought in public discussions with the status of a penal institution, which triggered fierce resistance among experts.³

In both countries, experts, academics and field workers, in contrast to the repressive mainstream, are sceptical about the effectiveness of more severe sentencing. Almost all experts agree that more severe laws concerning juvenile delinquency are inappropriate. The dilemma, however, remains: that public opinion, usually basing its assessment on the spectacular presentation of individual cases, is quite persistent and expects more severe penalties to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency.

In expert and specialist circles, however, concepts and strategies of prevention are being discussed as appropriate reactions. Even so, there is a problem that has to be confronted throughout. Criminal sanctions leading to imprisonment are clearly defined, whereas the implications of prevention are not. Often enough, they are quite blurred. On the one hand, this indicates great develop-

³ A good overview of expert discussions is given in: Arbeitsstelle Kinder- und Jugendkriminalitätsprävention/ Bundesjugendkuratorium (Hrsg.) (1999).

ment potential in the area of prevention; on the other, it clearly shows the need for more communication, discussion and reflection.

What is prevention? Experts roughly divide crime prevention (which also wants to reduce the fear of crime) into three categories:

Primary prevention aims at changing social conditions and, generally, wants to prevent criminal offences. It can define its target group only in general and relatively imprecise terms.

Secondary crime prevention, more clearly, addresses children and adolescents who are behaviourally deviant and/or socially at risk and offers support that can be more precisely described.

Tertiary crime prevention wants to prevent recidivism and, therefore, addresses young people who have already committed criminal offences.

These divisions are not undisputed. For instance, the socio-integrative approach and the primary crime-preventive approach are difficult to distinguish one from the other. It is also debatable whether tertiary crime prevention as a reaction to criminal offences should not be more accurately described as “intervention”, since avoiding recidivism is often just one of several goals.

Regardless of the many years of discussions about correct definitions, and largely unnoticed by the general public, many preventive strategies have been developed in different fields. They should be the focal point of this conference. Participants involved in innovative model projects should be able to introduce themselves and discuss their approaches with other specialists. The scope and effectiveness of preventive projects and methods should become more clearly recognizable – an undertaking that can build on different traditions in each of the organizer countries. It so happens that evaluations and attendant academic research are definitely more widely spread in crime prevention in the Netherlands than in Germany. The stronger orientation of Dutch efforts towards Anglo-American research and field work has found expression here. Criteria for successful preventive work can and must be found – even if evaluations are difficult in this field (i.e. prevention – how can the non-occurrence of an event be measured?) and a number of problems and questions arise. At least, we can imagine the success of process evaluations, and they can be beneficial for the further development and qualification of those doing the practical work. Although this insight has grown over the last few years, there is still a lack of communication and concepts in Germany. Institutionalized and structured forms of professional communication and discussions among colleagues rarely exist.

There is a large need for discussions. There are still more open questions than answers. Thus, there is a broad consensus about the need for early preventive work, but where and when it should be started remains unanswered. Moreover: What are relevant risk factors and how meaningful are they? How can data (and which data) be collected and what risks are involved? What new

forms of social control emerge in preventive efforts and what dangers are they associated with?

The full scope of preventive action is reflected in the four working groups which are the crucial element of this conference:

- 1 At the systemic level, methods were discussed that aimed at general social and family conditions. Local projects in city districts were introduced as well as projects working with target groups in special life circumstances (e.g. migrant youths). How can innovative methods, usually with a strong local reference, be transferred to other places? How can problem constellations be recognized at an early stage and how can intervention occur as early and as successfully as possible?
- 2 At the level of social reactions to offences committed by children and adolescents, possibilities to prevent recidivism were investigated. At the point where the work of police, courts and youth welfare services with their different structures intersect, the question of cooperation became highly significant. What possibilities of diversion are there against the background of the Dutch principle of appropriateness and the German principle of legality? What forms of damage compensation, including the victim perspective, have proved to be worthwhile? How can relevant target groups for mobile measures/ alternative punishment (strong intervention) be identified against the background of ubiquity? To what extent can such sanctions replace measures of confinement?
- 3 At the structural level, discussions focussed on how youth services planning can contribute to the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Some relevant questions were: What data are necessary for planning? What information on children, adolescents and parents is relevant? What forms of cooperation are necessary to obtain information? What cooperation structures are meaningful? What stigmatizing effects can arise? Is there a risk of social control being expanded and data being abused?
- 4 At the individual level, discussions about empowerment were continued. Methods here do not focus on deficiencies, but react positively to existing resources. Empowerment can be considered as the opposite of repression, although, more in practice than in theory, questions arise about limits, rules and a balance of voluntariness and compulsion. Putting empowerment strategies into practice in various fields has just begun. Therefore, information and discussions about how preventive projects can translate empowerment strategies into action were the main issue of this working group.

The main goal of the conference, promoting communication between the Netherlands and Germany about practical prevention strategies, determined

who would participate. Participants were not mainly academic researchers, but rather practical field workers and people doing fieldwork-related research. For an international conference, this was a rather unusual mixture.

The idea was to offer a possibility for learning from one another by exchanging practical experience and to build networks not only bilaterally, but also within one's own country, e.g. among projects, but also between projects and practical counselling and research, or among the various participating institutions. Finally, all participants agreed that successful crime-preventive action was no longer possible without comprehensive cooperation in all areas of responsibility.

The exchange was meant to supply ideas for new projects and to contribute to developing youth welfare services, but also to strengthen the position of these services in comparison with other participating institutions such as the police and the courts. Public pressure with regard to juvenile delinquency continues to be strong, and preventive methods are far more promising than repressive ones. Youth welfare services have an important function in this respect. The possibilities of preventive action have only become apparent in small parts, and its chances have by no means been exhausted. Therefore, the exchange of practical experience and evaluations in order to improve field work and to develop action strategies is a basic and indispensable need. It was an important objective of this conference to reduce deficiencies in this area.

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Part One:
Child and Youth Delinquency in the
Netherlands and in Germany: Poten-
tial and Limits
of Preventive Approaches

1 Juvenile Delinquency on the Local Political Agenda: Two Examples

1.1 Combating Juvenile Delinquency on a Local Level: The Rotterdam Experience

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1 Introduction

For too long, perhaps, the fight against juvenile delinquency has been perceived as being the sole responsibility of the police and judicial authorities and has not featured on the political agenda of local authorities. To a certain extent, the problem has been denied and not acknowledged. It was always considered one of the normal disadvantages of living in a big city. But whatever we, politicians and civil servants, thought, the public apparently had other ideas about the safety in their own streets. The nuisance caused by drug abuse has, of course, been the catalyst in the process of raising awareness in civil society. Explanations for these feelings among the population are not readily at hand. However, public safety has now been on the political agenda in the Netherlands for at least the past four to five years.

Figures show that the majority of crime is caused by young people, mostly between the ages of 15 and 25, the majority in quantitative terms. But we should be very careful with figures on criminality on the one hand and images of criminality on the other. Most of the youngsters are involved in what is called 'mino crime' (as opposed to 'serious crime') or 'frequent crime'. It means that youngsters are predominantly involved in criminal acts such as vandalism, hooliganism, shoplifting. That does not mean that no youngsters are involved in serious violent crimes, sexual offences and so on.

And what is a serious crime? And in whose eyes? Drug-running for instance is a crime in which a lot of Rotterdam youngsters, especially from certain spe-

cific neighbourhoods, are involved. It is not a serious crime if you compare it with drug trafficking on a large scale. But it is a serious problem when we see that very young children, even below the age of 12, are involved.

In the policy programme of the Council of Rotterdam public safety has been placed explicitly on the agenda for the last four years. A few months ago, when a new Council was installed, political concern for public safety again became one of the priorities.

2 Van Montfrans Commission

At the national level, more or less at the same time – some four years ago – more attention was also paid to public safety in direct connection with youth policy.

An advisory commission, chaired by Mrs. Van Montfrans, published a report, (in 1994) on juvenile delinquency with the title 'Facing the facts'. We should not deny the problem, we should recognise the problem, we should not 'gloss over' the problem. In this report, two main directions are outlined: prevention and correction. One message from the Van Montfrans report is that a corrective reaction to criminal misbehaviour should be: quick, consistent and early.

The other message is that a preventive policy is vitally important. The commission identifies five domains for an active preventive youth policy:

- Support in raising children.
- Child and youth care-system.
- Education.
- Employment.
- Situational prevention: safety and security in the public domain.

3 Five Pillars of the Rotterdam Youth Policy Programme

In the pro-active Rotterdam Municipal Youth Policy Programme, these domains have been translated into the 'pillars' of the local youth policy:

- 1 family support and child & youth care is the responsibility of the Public Health Department;
- 2 education with a focus on a Partner School programme is set up by the Municipal Education Department;

- 3 a Job Opportunity Programme and other activities to improve the employment situation of youngsters are carried out by the Social Affairs Department;
 - 4 leisure time and Sports activities are the responsibility of the Municipal Recreation Department.
 - 5 and the fifth pillar is the Rotterdam Youth and Safety Programme.
- These five programmes are the basis of the Municipal Youth Policy. They reflect the five most important dimensions of daily life for growing children and youngsters: family life, school, play, and, for the older youngsters: work. And directly connected with these domains is the Youth and Public Safety Programme.

4 Mission Statement

These five programmes are carried out within the framework of a central mission statement that says:

The Municipal Youth Policy challenges everyone in Rotterdam to mobilise all the strengths and qualities available within Rotterdam society in order to help all children and young people between the ages of 0 and 24 on their way towards social independence and positive participation in social life.

The mission calls on us to improve the quality of the situations, in which young people are raised, improve the skills of those who raise them, and utilise and reinforce the qualities and opportunities of the young people themselves. In addition, the mission contributes towards the prevention and reduction of situations and behaviour, which threaten development. It is our Rotterdam translation of the African proverb, which was also used (later) as the title of a book by Hillary Clinton: "It takes a whole village to raise a child." Youth policy is the responsibility of all departments of the municipality and of all provisions set up by organisations and institutions, such as schools, youth clubs, day care centres, youth care organisations.

Expressed in very practical terms, the central message to all the young people of Rotterdam (and to their parents) is: 'Either you are at school or you are at work, we do not have any other flavours'. A clear message. It is also a direct reflection on the limits of the formal competence of the municipality. The first competence is to uphold the Compulsory Education Act (you are at school) and the second competence is the direct responsibility of the municipalities for the Job Opportunity Programmes (you are at work). This means that we at the municipal level bear these responsibilities, and we are very eager to make use of them.

5 Some Projects in the Rotterdam Youth Policy Programme

To clarify a little more what we are doing in Rotterdam, some examples of projects developed within the framework of our youth policy programme are presented here:

- Duimdrop: An untranslatable word that stands for a container – the sort of iron container of which we have thousands in the harbour of Rotterdam – placed in a small square in a densely populated neighbourhood. This container is full of toys, such as skateboards, small bicycles, balls. Children can come to this container and borrow one of the toys. People of an Employment Scheme manage the container. This simple method has two effects: more possibilities for children to play and increased public safety in that square. I invite you to come and see for yourself. Based on the same idea, a similar programme is being developed for youngsters, which we call 'Home on the street'.
- 'New perspectives' is the programme involving intensive intervention for youngsters on the fringe of society. New Perspectives is a form of social work in which a social worker invests many hours in a rather small number of young clients (with the objective to restore a social network around the youngsters). It has proven to be very effective.
- We have to realise that we do have a lot of minority groups in our city as young Moroccans, young Turks, young people from the Cape Verde Islands and those of Surinam origin. Half of the population of our schools is of non-Dutch origin, and the same is probably true in Germany. These ethnic minority groups live in certain neighbourhoods and go to certain schools. We are trying to pay special attention to specific groups within these minorities, in close co-operation with migrant organisations.

6 Watertight Approach (SISA)

We are now at the stage of developing what we call a 'Watertight Approach': a system that provides a direct answer to the problem of 'youngsters in the fog'. Youngsters who, according our own local administration, are neither at school nor at work. Where are they? And what are they doing? Hanging around? Homeless? Still in contact with their families? How is their mental and physical condition? Jobless? Involved in illegal activities? The City of Rotterdam believes we cannot accept that some 800 to 2.000 youngsters are lost in the

jungle of a big city. We do not even know the exact number of these 'youngsters in the fog'; that is part of the problem.

These youngsters are a threat to public order, to the perceived lack of safety of the population and to themselves: their chances of getting a proper job, their chances of fruitful socialisation are seriously diminished. This is an ambitious project, based on the assumption that a municipality cannot accept the fact that so many of its young citizens are living on the fringe of civil society, with no real future, causing a lot of nuisance to the population, condemned to a life of dependency on the social security system.

The administrative system of the Compulsory Education Act forms the basis for an information system that functions as the backbone of this Watertight Approach Programme.

7 Youth Monitor

A major instrument has been developed at the municipal level, called the Youth Monitor. The Youth Monitor includes a longitudinal research programme at the end of which every inhabitant of Rotterdam (or his/her parents) will have been interviewed six times during the first 18 years of life. The methodology used in the Youth Monitor is a questionnaire presented to the parents (while visiting the clinics for babies and toddlers) or to the young person him/herself while at school.

The result is an ongoing 'state of the art' of Rotterdam youth, updated every year. The results are also presented to the schools. This gives school management and teachers a clear picture of the wellbeing of their pupil population. The schools are also offered support relevant to the problems revealed by the Youth Monitor results.

8 Besides Prevention: Repression

We sincerely hope that a preventive approach will reduce the high rate of juvenile delinquency. But hope is not enough. The criminal behaviour does not stop while we are developing new instruments. Besides all active preventive approaches, a system of reaction, correction and repression is still necessary.

Juvenile justice does not fall into the direct responsibility of the local authorities, and we depend on the police and judicial authorities. And maybe they have a different agenda, other priorities, other decision-making systems.

9 HALT as a Municipal Activity

With at least one exception: the HALT bureau. For a limited number of petty crimes, such as shoplifting and vandalism, it is possible for the police to refer directly – that means without the involvement of the public prosecutor's office – to the HALT bureau. This bureau can impose a light punishment on the youngster, in the form of community service for a very limited number of hours, 20 hours being the maximum.

In Rotterdam, the HALT bureau (HALT is an abbreviation for The Alternative) is a municipal agency, part of the municipality of Rotterdam organisation as a whole. I am proud to say that the HALT approach is a Rotterdam invention, first set up by the public transport department to combat vandalism on trams and buses. We now have almost twenty years experience with the HALT method, and the results are good. The police last year has sent a total of 830 youngsters to HALT. Even if the HALT procedure is very fast, we still hope to have the average two to three month procedure.

10 Partners Within the Juvenile Justice System

At the strategic level, the municipality, represented by the Juvenile Delinquency Programme, contributes towards shaping various measures, which ensure that punishment is faster and more consistent. These measures are prepared in the Rotterdam Juvenile Delinquency Steering Group, in which the Youth Department of Regional Police Force, the Public Prosecutor, the Child Protection Board, the Rotterdam Child and Youth Welfare Organisation and the Probation Agency participate. At the moment, the Steering Group is working on a common policy plan. This plan is geared mainly towards reinforcing and reducing the criminal justice network and improving the provisions available within this network.

Developments within the Rotterdam Juvenile Delinquency Steering Group are too slow for the local political system with its priority for a safer Rotterdam. Procedures in juvenile justice are still too long. For youngsters a tit-for-tat policy is an essential aspect of the educational approach of juvenile penal law.

In the Juvenile Delinquency Registration System the police, the (youth) Public Prosecutor's office, the police youth department and the Child Protection Board are developing an electronic information database system to improve the communication procedures between these three institutions, all involved in the legal proceedings concerning criminal offences committed by minors.

11 Some Projects in the Domain of Juvenile Justice

To mention some other programmes, activities and projects developed and carried out in Rotterdam:

- **Police Education Programme (school adoption programme):** In the Police Education Programme police officers, based in a neighbourhood, are teaching pupils in primary school about matters such as juvenile delinquency and combating racism. Through these activities, a good working relationship will develop between school teams and local police authorities. The programme is based on a similar programme (DARE) from the USA.
- **Basta:** The Basta project is a programme whereby students who have committed serious forms of truancy are sent to the Public Prosecutor or the youth judge. The new Compulsory Education Act also makes the students themselves subject to criminal proceedings, if they fail to meet their obligation to attend school. You cannot make such a new law without putting adequate provisions in place in case the law is broken.
- **Safe at school:** More than 30% of students in secondary education in Rotterdam are – according to a self-report survey – occasionally in possession of a weapon, in most cases a knife, also at school. It has recently been decided to start a campaign against this unacceptable threat to a safe school environment. We ask the school management to tighten up the school regulations, to inform the students and their parents very clearly about what the school rules say on the possession of knives and other weapons, and we encourage schools and police forces in the same neighbourhood to make clear agreements on how to react in the event of students being caught with a weapon in their possession. Our role as a municipal project promoting public safety is to bring parties together around the discussion table.
- **Group delinquency:** The programme of this conference includes a presentation by our colleagues from The Hague regional police force about group crime. It is becoming more and more of a problem. There is no serious fear of what some people call 'American situations'. We know that the majority of criminal behaviour committed by youngsters is due to more than one perpetrator. This does not mean that we have a lot of criminal gangs active in our city. But we cannot say that there are no gangs. At the moment, we are still looking for new approaches, successful experiences, innovative ac-

tivities and good practices to deal with all the forms of group crime among youngsters.

12 Closing Remarks

To quote Winston Churchill, this is not the beginning of the end, but only the end of the beginning. At the level of the City of Rotterdam, we have just started our intervention in the domain of juvenile delinquency. We are working for impatient politicians who press us to solve the problem, to make the city safe, to contribute to the socialisation of our youth, to contribute to the integration of youngsters from minority groups, to make Rotterdam a city that is safe for all inhabitants and friendly towards its youth. We are all familiar with the risks, but also the challenges, for young people growing up in an urban landscape. To close, once again: It takes a whole city to raise a child.

1.2 Combating Juvenile Delinquency on a Local Level: The Munich Experience

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“A considerable number of young people, among them many children from immigrant families, do not have much of a chance in our society today to develop convincing perspectives for the future. In the long run, this can lead to the build-up of an adolescent proletariat, significant in numbers, which, since it has nothing to lose and nothing to win either, at least not by common standards, will become a breeding-ground for violence and crime and a reservoir for left- and right-wing extremist groups.”¹

“Juvenile delinquency is not only a problem that society has to deal with, but also an indicator of problems that society has with itself.” “In many respects, the emergence and persistence of crime are a local affair. Therefore, it is within the community that crime prevention has to begin, if it is to succeed (at least partly).”

Elements of local crime prevention:

- 1 Understanding that crime prevention is an object of local planning and taking action accordingly.
- 2 Inter-connecting, at a local level, all institutions, organisations and government offices whose activities can lastingly influence crime-preventive guidelines, thus creating a more efficient and effective crime-preventive environment.
- 3 Clustering all existing resources and focusing programs on crime-preventive goals and corresponding target groups.
- 4 Committing the police and the courts as partners with practical knowledge.
- 5 Asking citizens to get involved. (Wolfgang Heinz, DVJJ - Journal 4/96, Nr. 154).

I have put these quotations at the beginning of my report, because they accurately describe the causes of deviant behaviour among children and adolescents (which is on the increase), because they realise that dealing with these causes is a social problem, and finally, because they make applicable recommendations at a local level.

¹ cf. “Jugendprotest im demokratischen Staat (1983)“, p. 63.

1 Figures Relating to Juvenile Delinquency in Munich

Thanks to a very intensive and thorough study done by the criminological research group of the Bavarian Police, we have the latest figures on juvenile delinquency in Munich at our disposal. The study sums up the most important figures as follows:

- The number of children and adolescents registered by the police as suspects has increased much more strongly over the last few years than the total number of registered suspects: 91.9% in Munich between 1988 and 1996, as compared to 40% overall. This is due to a real increase of juvenile delinquency, but also to the fact that more light is being shed on the obscure area of "youth-typical" offences, such as shoplifting.
- In spite of these increases, only a small percentage of children and adolescents living in Munich are registered as suspects every year: in 1996, 1.8% of the 8 to 13 year-olds and 7.5% of all 14 to 17 year-olds, more than half of each group for petty larceny such as shoplifting.
- Findings do not verify the assertion that delinquency among children is increasing, getting worse and affecting younger kids all the time. On the other hand, there are sufficient grounds for worrying about the development among adolescents.

Social workers of the municipal youth office who are involved in juvenile cases have processed 2,513 cases in 1995 and 2,496 cases in 1996 – as a rule, they are well-informed by the police and public prosecutor's office about all offences committed by young people having reached the age of criminal responsibility.

The General Social Service has reported 405 child offenders for 1988 and 601 for 1996.

2 Measures Taken by the Bavarian Capital of Munich in the Area of Prevention

Approximately 11,000 Munich children under the age of 15 grow up in families affected by economic difficulties, serious housing problems and poverty. Due to critical situations in personal and financial terms, these children are exposed to tensions and pressures in the family. Often, parents have neither time nor energy to communicate with their children in a caring way. They cannot per-

ceive or make use of opportunities to act, they are under stress and its consequences, and these are often the reasons for neglect and violence towards children. Having realised that behaviourally deviant children and adolescents often experience violence in their families, we have started preventive projects in four neighbourhoods where violence in the family occurs with above-average frequency. It is the aim of these projects not only to work on individual cases, but also to deal more thoroughly, in the context of neighbourhood-oriented youth work, with the prevention of violence in families. The needs of such families must be seen more clearly, and support must be given at an early stage and close to where they live. This is to be achieved by means of:

- increased networking of neighbourhood support systems,
- a timely influence on public planning projects to develop the social infrastructure,
- more information and PR activities to enable families and relevant professional groups such as educators, teachers and physicians to be aware of the social services available and to make extensive use of them,
- improving inter-disciplinary co-operation among various professional groups involved in such cases.

Social work projects have been set up in 17 schools over the last three years. The focus has been on basic secondary schools (Hauptschule) (8) and on elementary schools with a high percentage of foreigners (5). Two further projects each are being carried out in special schools and vocational training centres. The range of programs on offer includes counselling, student meetings, group work, class projects, career preparation, homework supervision, lunches, one-day excursions, weekend and leisure time activities, teacher/parent talks and home visits. School social work pays attention in particular to the transition period from school to the workplace or vocational training. Annually, 40 classes with about 1,100 male and female students are being looked after in the area of career preparation. Specifically, the topics of career orientation, career selection and assisting adolescents who have special problems finding a job or a training place because of their family background or difficulties at school. They are given intensive coaching to help them find an apprentice training place. To prevent them from giving up their vocational training at an early stage, adolescents are supported and counselled even after they have left school and during the first year of their training by means of trainee meetings and leisure time programs. In addition to these municipal measures, the Social Welfare Department supports nine counselling agencies of the voluntary sector – these being involved in schools as well to prepare young people for training and careers, thus accommodating about 2,000 job seekers.

In Munich, there are currently 3,500 unemployed people up to age 25, 1,500 of them holding foreign passports. A joint operation of the employment office, the chamber of industry and commerce, voluntary agencies and the municipal departments of labour, commerce and social welfare is trying to open up new opportunities for these people by analysing individual potential, counselling according to existing skills, and providing tangible assistance in line with those skills. As this project has just started, nothing much can be said about its success.

It is mainly voluntary agencies that help to build a closely-woven network of non-residential educational support services. Support is given to 250 older children and adolescents in social group activities to help them overcome their development problems, socio-pedagogical provision exists in about 550 cases, and socio-pedagogical support for families has been made available to about 320 families.

Currently, 14 street workers have access to 35 groups with about 900 members aged 15 to 23. Of these young people, 80 to 90% do not hold a German passport, and most of them have been offenders at least once, with a record mainly of drug consumption or drug dealing, violence, and offences against property.

3 Child and Youth Services in the Aftermath of School and Family

I have presented the variety and quantity of these measures, because they focus clearly on supporting children and adolescents in their families as early as possible, then in the second most important area of school and finally, in the critical area where young people move on from school to securing their livelihood. While youth work fulfils its original task by supporting families, the area of social work in schools especially takes into account that no qualified care and support for students is made available by schools in the afternoons, at least not in Bavaria. At first, teachers at the schools involved were sceptical and had to get used to this service, but now they are glad to be able to take advantage of the additional help that social work provides. The support of the cultural bureaucracy of Bavaria is painfully slow to attain, as two examples will show. In a nation-wide comparison of cities, the provincial capital of Munich also wants to be more accurately informed about the experience that children and adolescents have had with violence – in terms of a study done in this obscure area by Prof. Christian Pfeiffer of the Criminological Institute of Lower Saxony. The Ministry of Culture only gave its approval after a long period of hesitation, but did not share in the costs. In the case of an anti-violence training that, together with a voluntary agency, we wanted to offer to schools with

behaviourally deviant students, we were referred to after-school hours, so that we depended on the goodwill of participants. The effectiveness of a project restricted to leisure time is modest.

I see a great need for change in the co-operation of schools with youth welfare services, in the general reorganisation of schools, and in the way that problems of children and adolescents are dealt with when they move on from school to careers. This is true for basic secondary schools, special schools, vocational training schools and comprehensive schools, above all in difficult commuter-belt areas. People live there, who, for whatever reasons, could not keep up with the competitiveness of our society. And it is there that aggression and violence among children and adolescents is most likely to break out, as has been widely portrayed in the press over the last few months.

4 From Specialised Individual Support to an Integrated System Structure

Due to the specialisation of youth help provision encouraged by child and youth services law, work has been parcelled out increasingly, delimiting small areas of activity from one another, building up hierarchic impediments, and in spite of a centralised organisation contributing significantly to the fact that a holistic view of the system can hardly be maintained. Add to that the other departments of social administration largely organised according to laws and regulations, and it becomes more than clear that only comprehensive organisational restructuring can do justice to the new requirements of social welfare services that want to heed the facts of life. In Munich, we have started this process of change.

- With our project REGSAM (regionalisation of social work in Munich), we are trying to bring together all social organisations, institutions and services operating locally, give them common goals, and thus achieve well-coordinated action in accordance with local needs.
- In addition, we want to decentralise the entire municipal social administration, assigning it to twelve locations within the city. As many citizen-oriented services as possible will be offered in these so-called social service town houses, in an interdisciplinary manner and disregarding departmental boundaries, by locally structured teams of administrative and socio-pedagogical professionals. Youth welfare services will also be integrated into the normal service system of these town houses. Through clustering and close co-operation with other services operating in the city district, as

arranged by the regional team, youth welfare services will be able to keep a much more intensive contact with local clients.

5 Searching for New Forms of Cooperation

In the course of discussions about a free-for-all gang war among adolescents at the Karlsplatz in Munich, with one fatality as a result and Mehmet involved, who is meanwhile well-known throughout the country, weaknesses in the performance of youth welfare services have become obvious. These weaknesses must be tackled. This means first and foremost that all services and organisations dealing with behaviourally deviant adolescents must co-operate. We want to work together more intensively with the police, the public prosecutor's office and the juvenile court, in particular, in order to found a crime-preventive council at city level. There has always been a relaxed kind of co-operation concerning street gangs. In the future, however, the necessity and possibilities of crime-preventive measures to be taken by various responsible municipal bodies shall be discussed systematically. We want such measures to be introduced and their progress to be monitored. Crime prevention thus becomes an object of local planning.

Beyond that, in the context of REGSAM and a study group for children, adolescents and families, we want to establish round-table talks to promote crime prevention and guidance for behaviourally deviant young people. It is important that local schools, police officers responsible for youth, and the public prosecutor's office are involved along with the social institutions. In consequence of current discussions about the deportation of young foreigners having committed criminal offences, the public prosecutor's office and I have agreed to attend to the most urgent cases that stand out in police investigations in order to achieve a well-co-ordinated approach to these young people. Sensitive action is necessary here in view of legal positions held in the area of social data protection and reservations towards the police and public prosecutor's office that people working in the social service sector have repeatedly shown and continue to show. With the example of concrete cases, we will have to find out what amount of what kind of information from the social service sector can be surrendered in order to really achieve this well-co-ordinated communication between the social service and the security sectors.

Hopefully, in future, the local round-table talks will indeed make lasting and continuous guidance, as well as early intervention, possible for behaviourally deviant children and adolescents. There is a task here, also, for the more than 70 facilities of leisure time provision in Munich. They could take on the job of early problem recognition and would have to be prepared to share their findings with the round table.

6 Questions without Easy Answers

Though we can see that children and adolescents with foreign nationalities contribute seriously to the number of criminal offences, we can find no satisfactory access to this group of persons. The entire intercultural effort is still informed by the foreign worker status of the first generation. Because of their own curriculum vitae, the ageing employees of the migration services are still limited in their approach to compensating for the privations that the first generation had to face. They rarely have access to the values, goals and hopes of the second generation often born here, nor to the second and third generation having grown up here uninterruptedly. Consequently, youth welfare services have only limited access to these groups as well. Possibly, we are now paying for the illusion, upheld for two decades, that Germany is no immigration country. What is missing is a systematic investigation of the ruptures that especially the second and third generation of migrant families have to endure.

The specialisation of youth welfare services has contributed to the shortcomings of individual measures. We do not see, either, how the concept of empowerment can be strengthened and extended over the whole environment that influences children and adolescents – unless we have recourse to appeals. Possibly, consistent decentralising and regionalising of all social services will help, as well as involving youth welfare services directly in young people's circumstances. That would be a prerequisite for bringing into focus not only individual cases, but also young people's neighbourhoods as the centre of their lives, and making them objects of change (managing the social environment).

It is unclear what tasks leisure time centres can take on in the future. In the seventies and the first half of the eighties, a closely-woven network of more than 70 facilities was built up in Munich. Unmistakably, these facilities make contact with only a small group of people, are often limited to their premises and have little influence on life in the neighbourhood. In conflict situations, they get rid of difficult young people, e.g. by banning them from the centre. Even if the motives for doing so are understandable, because (for instance) a handful of young people begins to tyrannise the entire centre, the question remains what is supposed to happen to these behaviourally deviant children and adolescents after being banned. Hence, leisure time provision must accept to be included in a network of co-operative efforts.

Social work involved in juvenile cases should be subject to scrutiny. The way social workers see themselves is influenced to a large extent by their contacts to the courts, so that, rather than being part of youth welfare services and helping to settle conflicts, they feel they should be supporting the courts.

This kind of social work must also be decentralised, so that it can relate to the real life circumstances of juvenile offenders and become part of the entire social network in a given neighbourhood. Social workers involved in juvenile cases could contribute their specialist knowledge to the round table talks via the various residential and non-residential support services, thus assuming an important role as advisers. As far as I can see, this debate has progressed further in other German cities than in Munich. We are taking first steps here, but we have the advantage of being able to refer to the experience of others.

Conclusion: Youth welfare services have effective instruments at their disposal to make sure that prevention comes before repression. They must be prepared to work together at the neighbourhood level with other institutions, such as schools, voluntary agencies, the police and the public prosecutor's office. They can make available their specialist knowledge about suitable measures to be taken and thus contribute to well-defined support efforts in the interest of children and adolescents. To be effective at the neighbourhood level, they must change their organisation to some extent. What they gain is partnership and support in those cases where their own measures do not seem promising.

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2 Juvenile Delinquency: Preventive Strategies against the Background of Recent Social Challenges

2.1 Juvenile Delinquency - Dealing with Maladjusted Young People and a New Desire for Law and Order

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Introduction

In the weeks and months preceding the federal election campaign of 1998, emotions were stirred nearly as much by the debate on crime and punishment as they were by the overriding topic of unemployment. As in earlier election campaign clashes, an emotionalised dispute was sparked off concerning the causes and the scale of juvenile delinquency, and the adversaries vied with one another in formulating accusations and holding the political opponent responsible for not fighting crime rigorously enough. A large part of this dispute was calculated to have an effect we know only too well: whoever manages to stir up people's wide-spread fear of crime and uses the mass media to do so, can calculate his chances of gaining political votes in this general climate of social uncertainty. The dispute is further characterised by a deliberate focus on exorbitantly and steadily increasing juvenile delinquency and violent crime, a distorted picture geared to police statistics, whereas other, more discriminating findings have a hard time in a debate reduced to coarse stereotypes. Simply by turning your attention from police crime statistics to those that record the number of young people actually convicted in criminal proceedings, you will realise that long-term developments look quite different. Michael Walter, a criminologist based in Cologne, gives the following account: "The development in numbers of young people who, since 1975, have been convicted of youth-typical violent offences shows clearly that it is far less likely now for someone to be the victim of a robbery or physical injury than it was in the eighties" (Wal-

ter 1996). It follows that, even at the evaluation stage of existing juvenile delinquency data, there is a lack of clarity. From this fact, I would like to draw a first conclusion: Only a small number of the important questions relating to our topic can be answered with the help of statistics. Rather, we shall have to consider more thoroughly the background of that desire for "law and order" which has been brought to light over the last few years by the political debates and excitations concerning crime. The following contribution wants to stimulate this kind of thinking.

The Need for Clarification

Shocking individual cases, such as the murder of a shop-owner in Hamburg at the end of June 1998, a murder committed by two sixteen-year-olds, or the discussions about the serial offender Mehmet in Munich, as well as numerous less spectacular, though similar, cases have shown that a serious question addressed at the youth help system lies concealed behind all the quarrelling about election campaign slogans and crime statistics: Is the liberal, open concept of educational help, as it was developed in the reform discussions of the seventies and eighties, still sufficient when dealing with a "hard core" of adolescent and aggressive offenders (in a few cases, children are involved, as well), or must practical efforts take new methods into consideration? In view of the long criminal careers preceding the homicide committed by the two youths in Hamburg – should intervention have occurred at an earlier time and more severely? And if so: where, using what methods and assigning which responsibilities? Can reasonable objections still be made to people's desire for the re-introduction of secure provision, which has become very popular in Germany, or would a country-wide system of well-equipped and safeguarded special homes be the lesser evil compared to the fatalistic waiting for the overtaxed courts to intervene?

These questions are associated with the understandable agitation of the last few months (sometimes deliberately stirred up) in regard to extreme individual cases and which has suddenly catapulted into public demands. If these were consistently translated into action, they would inevitably lead to the revision of an entire *system*. A type of help for young people and offenders is at risk, which, when dealing with juvenile delinquency, makes a point of preventive solutions, breaks with the repressive tradition of punishment and wants to do without locking up children and adolescents altogether, wherever possible. In contrast, the political debate on crime has recently been signalling, or so it seems, that punishment and segregation are again called for. There are indications that a new turn of the old "corkscrew spiral" is being effected: with repressive measures of the judiciary on the one hand, and liberal measures of

social education on the other. This is happening not only in Germany, but also in those countries which originally gave the impetus for overcoming the repression model and for introducing socio-pedagogical solutions.

A New Concept of Prevention

Discussions about the “New York model” are a most conspicuous example of how, suddenly, the concept of a preventive crime policy was excessively praised, having achieved sensational success (or so it was believed) by prosecuting without mercy even petty offences, with numerous police involved and the tactics of removing unwanted marginal groups from public areas. Some time ago (July 1997), the SPIEGEL magazine pinpointed the philosophy of this concept in a witty front-page collage: showing the New York Statue of Liberty with a scrubbing broom (instead of the freedom flame) in one hand, a mobile telephone in the other, and handcuffs, gun and truncheon attached to its belt. The caption read: Against crime, drugs and filth in German cities – clear-up operations as in New York? Two questions obviously come to mind: Is that the understanding of *prevention* we want to have today? And: Can that statue still be called the Statue of *Liberty*?

The currently operative child and youth service laws are based on an integrative social concept and emphasise the creative function of social work in young people’s environment. What we see in security policies, however, is the advance of a totally different view of prevention. Prevention is no longer understood to be a way of “empowering” young people for a social culture of settling conflicts; instead, it has been turned round into a strategy of monitoring public areas and providing growth markets for security technology. This tendency can be observed not only in the spreading of so-called security services, but also in a growing polarisation of the public, the shielded citadels of global industry and banking colliding painfully with the risk zones of an ever increasing lower class of the poor. Societies are splitting up, which leads to local segregation as well, and intensifies the beginnings of an urban apartheid, which has already taken noticeable shape not only in the USA, but in large European cities as well. (Bourdieu et al. 1997; Ortner et al. 1998). Public territory has been privatised and taken over more and more by the wealthy, leaving a growing subclass, who are no longer relevant for the labour market or consumption, economically deprived. As the criminologist Michael Voß put it, they have to be kept away from the new temples of consumption, leisure and housing by means of private security services (Voß 1997).

The confusion about which of the policies against crime can be considered as preventive has also left traces in the ongoing debates about juvenile delinquency. The advocates of a “socio-pedagogical” position (prevention by means of more social projects with integrative objectives) have been reproached with

playing down the current growth rates in the area of aggressive juvenile delinquency. The rhetoric of integration and good intentions would not do; only the timely apprehension and treatment of groups at risk could have the effect of preventing crime. Consequently, a whole cluster of alternative measures was proposed, and still is being proposed, from this position, and ironically, the term *alternative* is being used to pursue exactly the same course which the alternative movement of the seventies wanted to break with – that, however, is the inevitable pattern of corkscrew movements! On the one hand, returning to longer and more severe prison sentences is considered to be indispensable; on the other, the reintroduction of short prison sentences is being demanded as well; the age of criminal responsibility should be lowered from 14 to 12, they say; adolescent offenders (18 to 21 years of age) should, on principle, be sentenced according to adult law, detention centres should be reinforced, and the applicability of the latest control strategies, such as a ban on going out or electronic monitoring systems (so-called electronic shackles) should be resolutely tested.

The other position denies the reproach of playing down risks. It does not underestimate the fact that our field work is faced with more difficult demands, as far as the increased figures of juvenile delinquency are concerned, particularly the increase of aggressive crimes against persons and property. However, these demands are causally related to the aberrations of current social change: which result from long-term unemployment, the disintegration of families, constant failure at school, growing up with many conflicts in city areas having little social cohesion etc. It is argued that all these factors contribute to the “clientele” of youth aid becoming more difficult and the integrative abilities of social work being more and more frequently put to the test. Social workers, however, fight against this attempt to use spectacular acts of violence or extreme individual cases in order to attack the foundations of a criminal law based on educational guidance. They refer to a variety of research results according to which there is no empirical basis for the popular assumption that more severe penalties will, in terms of prevention, have positive effects. In this sense, the criminologist Wolfgang Heinz from Constance tells us: “Anti-crime policies devoted to more, and more intensive, social control can only be partially realised, are only effective in a limited way, and are sometimes even counter-productive” (Heinz 1996, p. 16f). Consequently, and in contrast to the rhetoric of more severe punishment mentioned above, we demand that the approach adopted with the extension of non-residential measures as well as new youth welfare legislation must be resolutely continued, precisely because social conditions have become more difficult.

The New Call for Secure Provision

The dispute between these positions has recently brought one topic back to public attention (although it seemed to have been discussed thoroughly before) – education in secure institutions. However, contrary to the far-reaching expectations currently associated with the (re)introduction of residential confinement, a decision to go in this direction is very likely to be wrong – as it was already in the seventies when all hopes were aimed at the “therapeutic” potential of secure institutions. Eventually, youth welfare administrators turned away from this concept – not only because of the immense costs of the institutions involved, but also because of their failure to reinforce an educational and therapeutic environment. Today, political supporters of secure institutions try hard to ignore this fact. Contrary to all available experience with the inconsistencies of secure educational institutions, they want to give them another try – thereby accepting what even a superficial examination shows clearly: under the restrictive financial conditions we have now, introducing secure institutions can only lead to a cheap version of special care, which is questionable in itself and, once again, takes tight youth welfare resources away from specific preventive efforts, the reinforcement of which is overdue. A warning must also be issued to those who believe that secure provision can be a sure way of re-educating violence-prone adolescents who share radical right-wing views. Nobody has yet revealed how, in the environment of hate that radical right-wing groups foster, neglected education should be made good by *locking people up*. Rather, one can expect that, in an environment as delicate as that, the experience of the seventies with their exaggerated socio-therapeutical concepts will be repeated: aggression against educators and neighbours, cynical rejection of any “pedagogical blather” that happens along. It is also predictable that returning to a country-wide system of secure institutions would have negative consequences for youth welfare services on the whole. A federal network of secure institutions would inevitably send out a message. Many youth centres would suddenly feel encouraged to hand over their “most difficult cases”. If, at last, these can be looked after within a framework especially created for them – why go on looking for integrative neighbourhood solutions? In summary: the re-introduction of secure provision, seen as a product of shunting processes that are organised and dramatised by various parties, would be a most questionable tribute to the spirit of the times – and would damage the principles of social work which, at other times, people liked to conjure up: namely, preventive community policies, integration and participation.

Thus, the key to solving the problem is not the revival of doubtful institutions one has just said goodbye to. Rather, the attempt must be made to prepare existing institutions in a better way for coping with conflict and crisis situations – and to equip them, accordingly, with the necessary high-quality tools. Educa-

tional needs *in each individual case*, and not the fulfilment of populist requests for confinement, must come to the fore. Ultimately, this approach is more promising than a new version of old attempts which failed in the past and which, for this very reason, have been terminated by youth welfare services in most of the country.

Features of Today's Juvenile Delinquency

The confusion we have today with regard to the tasks of youth welfare services and policies against crime is set against the background of far-reaching social and economic change, and this change has led many people to feel profoundly threatened. Discussions about juvenile delinquency, in particular, are influenced by this feeling. People believe in the truth of scenarios that portray a "constantly growing" danger of crime "as it has never been known before", until they become, against the background of general anxiety, a self-fulfilling prophecy. One more good reason, therefore, to examine the actual features of the phenomenon. Only in this manner can we clarify which requirements with regard to content and methodology our practical work must meet in a phase of accelerated and radical social change, what prevention can achieve, and which forms of intervention – setting limits, but also asserting them – might be successful. Three striking characteristics of today's juvenile delinquency must be taken into account:

- 1 Juvenile delinquency is predominantly a *male group phenomenon*.
- 2 Family strains and long-term unemployment, ethnic conflicts and psychosocial problems accumulate mainly in urban centres with large populations and lead to *social disorganisation* fostering norm-defiant and risky behavioural patterns and encouraging the search for *enemies*.
- 3 Results of this disorganisation are, among others, group formations, in which destructive action leads to an improved status. *Alcohol and illegal drugs* have a reinforcing effect.

Each of these points contains important aspects of the practical efforts involved in youth welfare services and aid for offenders.

(As for 1): Most of the offences that cause a public sensation and stir up anxieties with regard to crime are known to have their origin in groups. As the statistics show, this trend is currently even more pronounced in the new Länder than it is in the old ones. But what does this fact of belonging to a group actually mean? Crime sociology tells us: "criminal sub-cultures" are mostly groups of young men with a low social status, few material and cultural resources and the distinct need for an enemy concept. Their main goals are to be seen and to attract attention in public and to keep cool while doing so. We

can put forward the general hypothesis that for these youths, the public demonstration of hard, aggressive manliness is something like a last resort to develop an identity. Situations are created which allow the ego to feel important, even when all the key phases of one's history – family, school, employment, the marriage marketplace – actually communicate *one* message only: you have nothing to say, and you are worth less than (almost) everyone else. Against this background, male youths quarrel about supremacy, described by the Australian sociologist Bob Connell as a striving for "hegemonial manliness" (Connell 1983). What he means are collective status criteria such as predominance in the group, proof of one's courage and strength, a constant readiness for battle, and the display of supreme competence in dealing with motorcycles, cars and weapons. The cult of heterosexual potency goes hand in hand with an aggressive contempt for homosexuals and disapproval of anything "soft", feminine or effeminate (Kersten 1993).

(As for 2): Against this background, it is above all the confrontation with "alien" ethnic groups that triggers conflicts and fights. The issue here is to occupy territory, but also to gain respect; male honour and national honour, women and other status objects are at stake. The experience of the new Laender tells us that the actual number of "aliens" in a given area is of minor importance. Marginalised adolescents of the *native land* feel called upon to protect their ancestral territory and suddenly, as they defend it against foreigners, intruders and "parasites" of all kinds, see themselves in the putative role of maintaining order – as in Hoyerswerda and Rostock. In those towns, the amalgamation of a right-wing scene prepared for violence with a silent majority ambivalent about violence suddenly created a pogrom mood in all of them. More than once, there were incidents after the reunification of Germany, e.g. in the Brandenburg village of Dolgenbrodt, where xenophobic collective violence could count on the support of the local population.

(As for 3): We know today that a high percentage of offences is either directly or indirectly connected to alcohol and illegal drugs. Obviously, this fact entails important crime-pedagogical responsibilities. This is true both for preventive and institutional areas – e.g. penal institutions, where the availability of drugs of all kinds is an additional obstacle for educational efforts aimed at social integration.

The co-ordination and fine-tuning of preventive methods have not been effective. This has various reasons – in the areas of school and youth welfare services as *well* –, where the professionals involved have tried, far too long, to dodge the problem of preventing addiction, passing it on to experts outside their own support system instead – for instance, to drug advisory services which, however, can hardly be effective where modern anti-drug support needs a particularly sustained effort, i.e. in the area of primary prevention. What matters today, in contrast to the old deficit-oriented view of prevention, is

the fostering of *life competence*; not only conjuring it up, but actually practising it, in good time, when dealing with children and adolescents. However: once the old deficit perspective is really abandoned and drug consumption is considered as an integral part of our society, the task of preventing addiction can no longer be reduced to mere *drug avoidance*. The fact that a kind of anti-drug support that accepts the addict, as well as the development of risk competence etc. are being discussed today lets us hope that the prevailing authoritarian fixation on the *battle against drugs* can still be overcome – after a far too long period of stagnation in drug policy (Amendt 1992).

Obviously, it is of great importance for crime prevention to be aware of such interrelations – what, however, are the consequences in detail? First of all, the fact that creating a taboo around “violence”, outlawing and segregating it, is definitely not sufficient, even if well-intentioned. Youth work can only achieve preventive effects if it deliberately relates to violence with well thought-out methods. This will not be possible with a depersonalised learning program, but can only be achieved on the basis of personal credibility, proceeding from a position of understanding (not appreciation), but, at the same time, not avoiding to confront difficult attitudes. The competence required here could be described with the term *confrontational education* – an ability to deal personally with aggression and violence, which has frequently been underdeveloped in the traditional forms of youth work or has been buried under educational commonplaces, wrongly understood, such as *sympathy and acceptance*. In reaction to increased right-wing youth violence, this competence must partly be learned anew. In my opinion, significant progress is contained in the concept of social training, developed in the early eighties by the non-residential after-care for offenders. However, a prerequisite is that such a concept does not reel off like a curriculum similar to a course, but is practised by specifically tackling the personal circumstances of offenders and the situational trigger mechanisms of violence. Experience gained with the so-called anti-aggression-training is a convincing first step. Originally, it was developed in penal institutions, but has recently been practised more and more by open youth welfare services as well (Stickelmann 1996).

Propositions

(1) The socio-educational conceptions that used to sustain attempts to reform youth welfare services and offender after-care have come under pressure. Clearly, they have to be reflected again, considering that social contradictions have intensified, among them the dilapidation of public areas and the hardening of marginal adolescent groups lacking a perspective. Precisely for that reason, they have to be defended against the simplifications of populist think-

ing that have spread during recent election campaigns at state and federal levels, considering work with marginal groups to be just a social waste management task. When dealing with common law-and-order concepts, we must not eliminate reform positions, but rather give them a new justification. Whenever we need answers to the increasing readiness of children and adolescents to commit acts of violence, pragmatic solutions are urgently required, and not sterile discussions about percentage points that express this increase and how it is distributed. Nor is it good enough to simply “unmask” the trivial message of severity and segregation that the new no-tolerance thinking builds up on and, apart from that, to withdraw to a moralistic or professional know-all attitude. It must be conveyed to an understandably uncertain population that stage-managed campaigns in favour of more severe punishment, using the media to great effect, can distract from the real social problems only for a short time (maybe for the length of an election campaign). In the end, they will prove to be unsuitable attempts to meddle with an unsuitable topic.

(2) Currently, we are witnessing a social dynamism that is deepening the gap between social groups. On the one hand, there is unemployment, a lack of education and vocational training, growing poverty and the precarious living conditions of marginal groups. On the other hand, there is rapidly increasing wealth, an erosion of social justice and an extensive breakdown of tax payers' honesty. In this situation, it seems reasonable to consider the fear of criminals and foreigners that political parties stir up as part of a search for substitute authority. If the government is not capable of strengthening social justice on a large scale, if it is not capable of interfering with the intangible wheelings and dealings of international big crime, then, at least, it can present itself as a “strong partner” on a small scale by taking up the struggle against drug addiction and tangible crime on the streets. Talking about the split that runs through society no longer has a metaphorical meaning only. In view of a globalised economy, it is being suggested that the cut-backs of social benefits and the dismantling of democratic structures is unavoidable. This is changing the social atmosphere and reactivating class barriers believed to have disappeared for good. The psycho-social consequences of the fact that a considerable part of the young generation is virtually excluded from the job market have, for a long time, been played down or suppressed. The more these suppressed facts reappear in the growing number of young people without a perspective and without hope, the more they are being reduced to individual and pathological phenomena which the traditional support systems provided by educators and the judiciary are supposed to be responsible for. A projection process that social work will probably have to deal with for a long time – without really enhancing its status and, in fact, systematically confronting it with excessive demands.

(3) At the same time, the risk is becoming greater that a deepened *split* will also occur in the areas where youth and offender support systems do their work: the integrative, environment-oriented approach is reserved for the better off; disciplinary measures and confinement for those coming from the increasing number of marginal and problem groups. This means that basic socio-political positions of social work are changing. More than ever, social work depends on comprehensive democratic agreement about social justice and solidarity – along with sufficient financing and personnel. To the degree that wealth is being redistributed from the bottom to the top strata of society, thus undermining any consensus and adding to the apathy, political moroseness and anti-democratic views of growing parts of the population – the socio-political commitment of youth welfare services, provided by law, are also being forced onto the defensive. The basic concepts of this law – integration, participation, political interference, community policies – no longer make sense if they can only be practised on the fenced-in playgrounds of social education. These concepts can only be realised if co-operation and networking find a broader understanding and go beyond the traditional limitations of youth welfare services, the schools and the courts.

(4) The polarisation of society, triggered by economically defined criteria of success and social delimitations, as well as the collapse of the old exterior enemy *communism*, have led to a new need for interior demarcation lines: top and bottom, good and bad, guilty and innocent, familiar and unfamiliar, indigenous and foreign, educable and ineducable. The trend towards individualising and pluralising life styles, documented by the social sciences, has led to an undreamt-of variety of biographical options, but at the same time, it has created a new momentum for people to retreat from social life. In some parts of the youth scene in particular, one can observe how well-defined core groups, by cutting themselves off from others, form rigid patterns for sorting out who belongs and who does not belong. The more the functions of closeness and community these groups cultivate are experienced as being endangered, the stronger is the compulsion to dissociate oneself from the exterior world and to fight *anything unfamiliar*. How to deal with attitudes, in which aggressive delimitation goes hand in hand with the taboo against affection and community feeling, has increasingly worried the youth welfare services. The latest surveys of "street children" in Germany have indicated that a problem area has emerged here which eludes the traditional principles of youth welfare services and offender after-care and requires new forms of counselling and support.

(5) Scepticism against and rejection of a new law-and-order policy have prevailed in social education so far, this policy trying again to commit services to repression, punishment and segregation in their dealings with delinquent youths. As discussions over the last few months have shown, however, this could change if the sensitive area of policies against crime is entrusted to agi-

tators who would rather build up militias with pseudo-police functions than social projects in our cities. In this sense, the question of up-to-date reforms that do not get carried away by public excitation concerning the wayward “young people of today” remains an important topic in the future.

Conclusion

Concepts of rehabilitation and treatment that have determined how to deal with juvenile delinquency since the 1970s have been getting on in years. The way they have developed, or have *not* developed, gives cause to a great deal of doubt and criticism. In many respects, they have clearly stayed behind their original intentions. Far too often, they were used as alibis under anti-reform conditions of the penal system. And far too rarely has the classical insight that the best policy against crime is a good *social* policy been taken seriously, beyond stereotyped usage, as a yardstick for practical efforts. It would only be a sham to take refuge in a radical understanding of prevention that simply cuts off these roots, leaving the field of offender after-care to an aggressive segregation concept behind a facade of “more security”. Blueprints for dealing with juvenile delinquency in a modern way cannot be derived from there. The enthusiasm that has erupted in this country after the New York success story became well-known gives the impression of people wanting to ignore reality yet again and preferring to apply “big-apple” measures to our rather smaller-scale situation.

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2.2 Chances and Limits for Crime Prevention in the Netherlands: Developments in Recent Years

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Introduction

In the sixties and even more so in the seventies, the Netherlands, as so many other Western countries, was confronted with rising crime rates. To a great extent this rise was caused by offences of a not too serious nature, committed by juveniles and young adults in particular. Often they are, wrongfully, referred to as petty or 'small' crimes. We are talking, then, about fare dodging in public transport, vandalism, shoplifting, bicycle theft, theft from and of cars, breaking and entering, harassment, handbag snatching etc.. Not too serious perhaps, but nevertheless causing feelings of unrest among the public, and also causing serious financial damage. The latter not only because of material and immaterial losses suffered by victims and insurance companies- stolen property, doctor's bills -, but also by society as a whole. Huge financial investments were to be made by the police, the judiciary, the probation service and (local) government in order to deal with crime and its perpetrators. For the first time in many years, pressure on the prison system increased. Not surprisingly, crime caught the attention of politicians. Entering the eighties, the issue of crime and dealing with crime was put high on the political agenda. A position, we all know now, it has never left since.

In this contribution, attention will be paid to crime prevention initiatives that were taken in the Netherlands during the last 10 to 15 years, including plans for more modern style types of prevention programmes. Furthermore, indications for more effective interventions – tertiary prevention – will be given, including suggestions what not to do.

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Crime Prevention Initiatives in the Eighties

As a result several new measures were taken. Prison capacity was extended significantly, both for adults and juveniles; at that time a rather unusual thing to happen in the Netherlands, a country known for its relatively low prison rates. Also, the scope regarding the backgrounds of crime and responsibilities for dealing with crime broadened. The so-called Opportunity theory and Hirshi's Social Control-theory started to play an important role. Society's increasing opportunities to commit crimes and lack of parental and societal supervision were seen as a crucial factors for the phenomenon of (juvenile) crime and its increase. Furthermore, it was stated that dealing with crime and with crime prevention should not be the sole responsibility of the police and the judiciary, but of society as a whole. In particular local authorities should be involved and take responsibility in that respect. They should not leave it to the police and the courts, but recognise its own role in the emergence of crime and, therefore, should consider it also their own problem. Local authorities were not only expected to be involved in and support activities in preventing crime and dealing with crime, but should also take, at least to some extent, a more directing role. In line with the former, another important development in the eighties was the extra attention given to crime prevention issues. New concepts of prevention – situational and managerial prevention – were introduced, aimed at limiting the opportunities to commit crimes. Initiatives in promoting so-called techno-prevention measures – better locks, closed circuit television cameras – were strengthened. Many of those prevention policies and measures were aimed young people. Furthermore, it was believed that traditional ways of dealing with juvenile delinquency were not very effective. New, more promising types of interventions were desperately needed. Specially interventions addressing young people's own responsibility for their acts, were considered important and effective (Van der Laan, 1991). Like other specific groups of the general population – women, ethnic minorities – , young people were believed to have emancipated. They could be held responsible for their acts at a younger age. They could show their responsibility by restoring – if only symbolically – the damage caused to an individual victim or society. Work projects – the Dutch equivalent of the English Community Service Order – would serve this purpose. But also interventions that in some way would broaden and improve a young person's perspective of finding a promising position in society, were considered important. Such interventions – training projects as they were called – could be filled-in in various ways. From referring a young person to some sort of vocational training to having him or her participating in a social skills training programme. Even sending a young person back to school, be-

came a serious (penal) option. In general, it was believed that interventions should be meaningful to young people. A well-established practice of police warnings and prosecutor's dismissals – sometimes referred to as a system of minimal intervention – , was no longer considered meaningful and credible. Instead of being warned and sent home, a certain task and commitment should be required from the juvenile offender. For that reason, the above mentioned alternative sanctions were not only introduced at court level. Public prosecutors, too, were given the possibility to apply work or training projects. By carrying out such a project a young person could prevent him or herself being taken to court. At police level, the HALT-scheme was introduced (Halt en Verwers, 1989). In particular young persons suspected of acts of vandalism or shoplifting were to be referred by the police to a HALT-bureau instead of being warned or reported to the public prosecutor. At the HALT-bureau arrangements are made for short work projects – at most 20 hours of cleaning or repair jobs – and if possible direct financial compensation to the victim for his losses.

Many Measures Taken

In various ways the new policies proved very successful. Local authorities became increasingly involved in crime prevention policies. In many cities and towns so-called prevention co-ordinators were appointed. They were made responsible for developing and implementing local crime prevention strategies.

Various types of formal supervision were introduced, ranging from appointing janitors in large housing estates, re-introducing conductors in public transport, to employing town or civic guards who are to patrol the streets and be of assistance to the public.

In both primary and secondary education crime prevention, more often crime prevention issues were included into the curriculum. Police officers became familiar faces in schools. Not to interrogate juveniles regarding certain offences, but to deliver crime prevention courses and to establish trust and improve co-operation between the police and the schools. In 1997, in the area of Rotterdam alone, 250 primary schools were 'adopted' by the Rotterdam police (Baas, 1997).

Alternative sanctions at both prosecutor's and court level became increasingly popular. It started as an experiment in 1983 in six court districts. Soon, the experiment was extended to all 19 court districts, followed by enactment in 1995. In 1983 only some 250 alternative sanctions were imposed; in 1997 the number had increased to 7,900 (*Jaarboek 1998*, 1998). This intervention is now the most frequently imposed penal sanction for juveniles. With respect to HALT, the picture is even more impressive. In every major city and town, but

also in all rural areas, there is now a HALT-bureau. In 1997, the police referred over 21,000 juveniles to HALT (*Jaarboek 1998, 1998*).

Impact on Juvenile Crime?

An obvious question, of course, is whether these efforts worked. Has it led to less crime, or at least to less juvenile crime of a not too serious nature? An important question, but nevertheless difficult to answer. The sources that are available to us to answer this question are limited, the outcomes can be interpreted in various ways. Concentrating on offending by young people, victim surveys – the outcomes of which are often considered the most reliable indicators of crime levels in a society – cannot be used. Simply because a victim does not always know the perpetrator, and if perpetrator are seen by victims, they find it often difficult to tell whether they were minors or adults. Another obvious – and probably most commonly used – source for determining crime levels, are police data. However, as we can see from Figure 1, using police data is not without problems (Van der Laan et al., 1998).

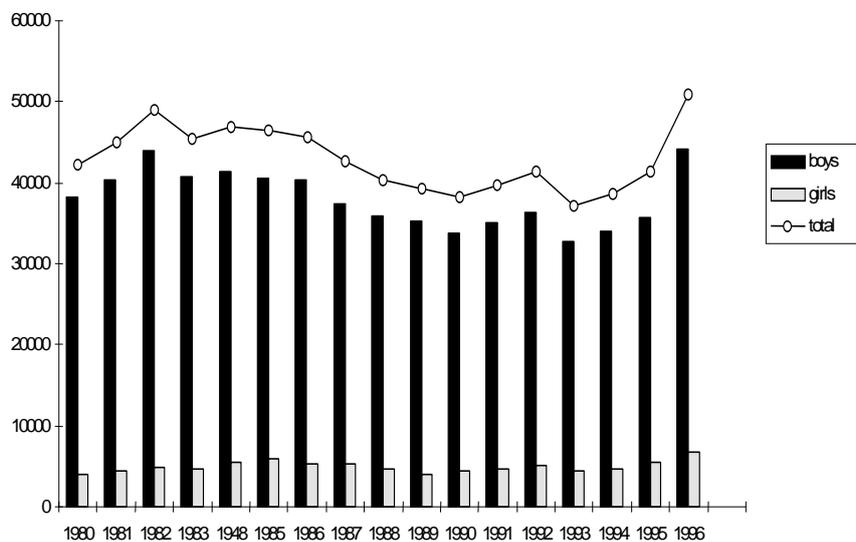


Figure 1: Police contacts juveniles aged 12 to 17, 1980-1996

Figure 1 depicts the number of young people arrested in the Netherlands by the police since 1980. During the eighties, this number went down slowly but constantly. In policy circles, at some point in the early nineties, this fall was understood as a result of the new crime prevention policies. Unfortunately for them, the numbers of juveniles interrogated by the police started to rise in the nineties. In general, one should be cautious when studying police data. They are very much affected by (changes in) registration methods, police capacity, and police and policy priorities. Another problem has to do with the nature of the numbers in Figure 1. They are absolute numbers, and as such not related to the size of the juvenile population. Taking into consideration changes in juvenile population – a decrease by 25% over the last ten years – a different picture appears: instead of a decrease, a small but steady, and in recent years, a sharp increase occurred.

Should we, then, conclude that the new policies have failed? Again, such a conclusion should not be drawn on the basis of police figures alone. Additional information can be found through self-reported delinquency studies. Such studies, too, have disadvantages. They depend on the willingness of respondents to be frank about their offending behaviour. Obviously, this will be less likely the case with respect to more controversial types of offences like those of a violent or sexual nature. There are also complications related to the respondent's understanding of certain behaviour – some behaviour is considered an offence by one respondent, but not necessarily by another – and his or her memory – when did they commit an offence and how often. Nevertheless, specially regarding less serious offences, self-reported delinquency studies are believed to be an important and reliable source of information. In the Netherlands such studies are done every two years since 1986 (Van der Laan *et al.*, 1998). See Table 1 next page for the outcomes from the surveys from 1988 onwards.

Although in 1996 the percentage of juveniles admitting to have committed one or more offences is higher than in the previous surveys, the difference is not statistically significant. Therefore, juvenile delinquency in general seems to be relatively stable or only slightly rising over the years.

Drawing conclusions on the impact of crime prevention measures, remains difficult. We cannot conclude that they have had a limiting impact. On the other hand, optimistically spoken, the measures may have brought a halt to a trend of increase.

OFFENCE	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996
Fare dodging	14.5	17.0	19.0	15.7	16.7
Graffiti	10.3	8.8	8.6	10.1	11.1
Harassment	9.9	12.0	11.8	14.1	14.6
Vandalism	8.9	9.9	10.5	9.1	14.6
Shoplifting **	5.4	7.4	6.6	7.0	10.0
Arson	3.8	5.0	3.8	4.3	5.3
Receiving stolen goods	3.5	4.1	4.0	4.2	8.6
Bicycle theft	2.1	3.0	2.7	1.3	3.1
Beating up	1.9	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.3
Breaking and entering	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.6	1.2
Theft from phone booth / vending machine ***	-	1.2	1.0	1.1	2.3
Theft from school ***	-	6.5	8.4	7.2	10.1
Involvement in fights or riots ***	-	6.7	8.8	11.6	14.7
Using weapon to injure person ***	-	0.6	0.4	0.4	1.1
Carrying a weapon ****	-	-	12.8	20.5	21.5
Extortion ****	-	-	0.4	0.3	0.5
Combined offences	34.5	38.2	38.2	37.8	40.2

* 1988: n=994; 1990: n=1,006; 1992: n=1,038; 1994: n= 1,096; 1996: n=1,083.

** Shoplifting items less than NLG 10 has been combined with reports involving items costing more than NLG 10 to facilitate comparison.

*** This offence was absent from the survey taken in 1988.

**** This offence was absent from the surveys taken in 1988 and 1990.

Table 1: Offences committed during the past school year (in %)

New Problems

Where juvenile delinquency in general may be considered to be stable – and therefore crime prevention measures may have had some positive impact – the picture concerning specific types of crime and specific groups of offenders tends to be different. First of all, police data show a steady increase of violent

crime (Bol et al., 1998). Since 1990 the proportion of violent crime has doubled from 7% to 15%. This trend is confirmed by self-report studies. Pfeiffer (1997) reported similar trends for other European countries.

Apart from that, we see some groups of offenders become more prominent. Each year more girls are detained by the police (Mertens et al., 1998). Their numbers are, compared to those of boys, still small, but from self-report studies we learn that in particular in the area of shoplifting, harassment and vandalism, girls hardly distinguish themselves from boys.

A series of research projects suggest that the same is true for the involvement in crime of young people from ethnic minorities (Leuw, 1997). A difficulty is that this is the case for some minority groups (young Moroccans and Antilleans), but not for others (Surinamese and Turks). Unfortunately, ethnic background is not included in police registrations, and the number of young people from ethnic minorities in self-report surveys is generally too small to draw firm conclusions.

There is also a strong belief among the police and judicial authorities that the age at which the first offence is committed, is going down. In other words, young offenders are becoming younger (more offenders under the age of 12). Since children under the age of 12 who commit offences are not officially registered, it is difficult to find confirmation of this trend. A first exploration of this phenomenon showed very small numbers of young children involved in crime, but was unable to detect trends in any direction (Grapendaal et al., 1996).

Finally, more and more evidence becomes available indicating that a relatively small group of young offenders is responsible for a disproportionate amount of rather serious crime. In the Netherlands, this group of persistent offenders estimated at 2% of the youth population (0 to 23-year-olds), accounting for 23,000 young people (mainly males) (Ferwerda et al., 1995). Depending on what definitions are chosen, 6 to 18% of the juveniles arrested are responsible for 50 to 60% of the crimes committed (Junger-Tas, 1996).

New Challenges

The crime prevention policies developed in the eighties and early nineties are likely to be sufficient for dealing with the vast majority of juvenile crime. These are the crimes of a not too serious nature, committed by young people, whose behaviour is best characterised as rather opportunistic (Junger-Tas, 1996). They commit offences during a limited period of their life. Moffitt (1993) calls them 'adolescence-limited offenders'. In their late teens or early twenties, they no longer will commit offences. Even without crime prevention measures, they would probably stop offending!

The situation is different for the relatively small group of persistent offenders. Current prevention policies fail to affect them. During the last five to ten years we have learned more about the characteristics of this group – the backgrounds of their offending – from several longitudinal cohort studies, that are currently carried out in North America and New Zealand (Junger-Tas, 1996; Ferwerda et al., 1996). Presumably, we are dealing with young people, who already at a very early age show various types of problematic behaviour and are likely to continue to do so in the adult stages of their lives. Their difficult behaviour does not necessarily take the form of delinquency at all ages; it may change during the years. For instance, as toddlers they may be difficult to handle at home, they may be hyperactive in (pre-)school, and cause serious unrest in their classrooms. As adolescents and young adults they frequently commit offences, including violent ones. As adults, it is quite well possible that they continue to offend, but also that they physically abuse their partners and children. Moffitt (1993) refers to them as 'life-course-persistent offenders'. As is said before, a small group, but responsible for serious problems and causing major concern. There are other important features regarding this group. They do not only cause serious problems to society, they suffer from them as well. Problems like poor health, leaving education without qualifications, unemployment etc. feature among this group disproportionally. Young people who belong to this group are often known not only to the police and the judiciary, but also to social services, child protection agencies, educational and employment services.

A range of factors, so-called risk factors, play a role in the emergence of problems and problem behaviour. It is not so much a matter of one single or several causal factors, but combinations of various factors, often varying in nature. Combinations may vary from individual to individual. Hawkins et al. (1998) have listed these risk factors in five different areas.

Individual factors – Medical/physical conditions

- Pregnancy and delivery complications
- Low resting heart rate

Individual factors – Psychological characteristics

- Hyperactivity, attention deficit, impulsivity, and risk taking
- Internalising disorders: nervousness/withdrawal, worrying, and anxiety
- Aggressiveness
- Early initiation of violence and delinquency
- Other antisocial behaviours
- Attitudes and beliefs

Family factors

- Parental criminality
- Child maltreatment
- Poor family management practices
- Parent-child involvement and interaction
- Family bonding
- Family and marital conflict
- Parental attitudes favourable to violence
- Stressful family events
- Residential mobility
- Separation from parents

School factors

- Academic failure
- Low bonding to school
- Truancy and dropping out of school
- School transitions
- High delinquency rate school
- Occupation aspirations/preferences

Peer-related factors

- Delinquent siblings
- Delinquent peers
- Gang membership

Community and neighbourhood factors

- Poverty
- Community disorganisation and low neighbourhood attachment
- Availability of drugs
- Neighbourhood adults involved in crime
- Exposure to violence
- Exposure to racial prejudice
- Community consequences for violence

They all correlate more or less with (serious) offending, but how exactly they work and to what extent, is not yet known. It is believed that there are also protective factors that prevent risk factors to have a malign effect. However, again little is known about these protective factors and how they work.

Prevention policies aimed at the group of persistent, serious offenders, should focus on a whole range of relevant factors. Single-focus approaches – for example focussing on the child or the parents only – are likely to be less successful, and so are programmes that use only one method – for example only training of social skills or classroom contingency training. The answer is to be found in using multi-focus and multi-modal programmes, with contributions from several disciplines. Not only are different types of service providers familiar with the same children and families ‘at risk’ – sometimes without knowing from each other – , but also is their contribution needed to solve or at least relieve problems.

As many of the above listed risk factors indicate, another important, but also complicating challenge with respect to developing effective prevention programmes, is the issue of timely reactions. More in particular, to act early: early detection, early recognition, early prevention and perhaps even early intervention. Working on early indications of, sometimes later occurring, problem behaviour, may prevent that behaviour. In the end it may prevent these young people ending up in police stations and prisons. But also it may provide them with better health and better opportunities to finish education successfully and getting employed. However, there are some serious complications. First of all, not every child exposed to serious risk factors will end up in problems. Predictions of problem behaviour at an older age on the basis of risk factors, are still far from accurate (Junger-Tas, 1996). What is considered enough evidence to justify early intervention? Although predictions are better with respect to certain risk groups, whenever a decision is taken to intervene early in a preventive way or not, it is important that the various advantages and disadvantages of intervening should be constantly and seriously taken into consideration. This is the more important, when intervening by means of prevention measures is felt necessary, but the family (parents) involved is not willing to co-operate. The issue of coercion is already a difficult one when it comes to intervening in a situation where there is clear evidence of abuse or other serious problems, but even more so when there are ‘only’ vague, not clearly evidence-based indications of possibly later emerging problems. For example, parents may feel criminalized and punished for their parenting, though their child has not even shown concrete signs of serious problem and or offending behaviour, let alone that a positive outcome is guaranteed (Dundes, 1994). It will also bring along problems of a more legal nature, since it might mean parents are punished not for their wrong doing, but for their their children not doing well (Humm, 1991). In the Netherlands Junger-Tas (1998) seems to take the position that sometimes mild forms of coercion are justified. Hermanns (1998), on the other hand, prefers a slightly different approach. He argues that parents do not only have an open mind regarding their parenting problems and the possible problems of their children, but also are willing to accept support, in particular when this

support is given by people from their own social network. A bottom-up approach is preferred over a top-down one.

Furthermore, the juvenile justice system does not have a reputation of a swiftly operating organisation that takes decisions easily and firmly. By the time the justice system starts to be involved, problems have already taken serious proportions. There is little time or room to take preventive measures. At best, the decisions taken can be understood as tertiary prevention. Not the (juvenile) population as a whole, or youth at risk are targeted, but young people who without doubt involved in serious problems. Thus, with respect to taking proper and timely prevention measures, the justice system is very much dependent on other services. Services like infant welfare clinics and kindergarten and primary schools, that come into contact with children and their families at a much earlier stage.

Modern Style Prevention

Increased knowledge on risk and protective factors offers opportunities for a developing new types of (crime) prevention programmes. Preferably, such programmes address risk factors in various areas, using various methods. Over the last decades several of those prevention strategies are developed in the United States and Canada (Junger-Tas, 1997; Graham, 1998).² Some of them are more successful than others, specially those targeting parents and parenting skills and toddlers and children at a very young age.³ One of the best known and most promising overall prevention programmes is currently the Community that Cares strategy, developed in Seattle by Hawkins and Catalano (Communities that Care: an overview, 1996). Major feature of this strategy is to stimulate small to medium sized communities to become safe and healthy environments, suitable for children to grow up. It includes several stages from drawing a picture – risk profile – of the current state of a community, including indications for health and safety (crime) hazards, to designing both support and intervention schemes regarding various areas (education, health, crime prevention, drug and alcohol programmes, improving housing, parenting and teaching skills etc. A central factor is the commitment of key figures of a community, who are in a position to take major decisions: politicians, council chief executives, chief constable and the like. In England an experiment with this approach is currently underway and it is expected that the Netherlands will follow soon (Naar een solide basis, 1998).

² See Bakker et al. (1997) for an interview of, often more limited, initiatives in the Netherlands

³ See Wasserman and Miller (1998) and Catalana et al. (1998) for an interview.

Tertiary Prevention

It is without doubt that (crime) prevention programmes have an increasingly important role to play in crime policies. However, even with highly effective programmes, we should expect young people to come into contact with the police and the judiciary. Therefore, there remains a need for intervention programmes (tertiary prevention as it is sometime called).

From evaluations we can learn that we should not overestimate the effectiveness of current penal and semi-judicial intervention methods. That applies not only to traditional sanctions like fines and suspended and non-suspended custodial sentences, but to many of the 'new' interventions of the seventies and eighties as well, including the much applauded diversion programmes. In the Netherlands, outcomes in terms of re-offending of the earlier mentioned alternative sanctions are better than those of traditional interventions, but the differences are far from being spectacular (Van der Laan, 1991). Such slightly disappointing outcomes may jeopardise future support from both politicians and judicial authorities. This can be prevented by paying more attention to the body of knowledge produced by, mainly, Canadian research on 'what works' (Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau et al., 1994; Bonta and Crowley, 1996). Based on large meta-evaluations of a range of interventions (Lipsey and Wilson, 1998), the following basic principles should be taken into consideration when designing effective interventions:

- 1 Risk principle
- 2 Needs principle
- 3 Responsivity principle
- 4 Principle of professional discretion
- 5 Principle of programme integrity

The risk principle prescribes interventions to differentiate according the risk of re-offending. The level of intensity of the intervention should match the level of risk. The higher the risk, the more intense the type of intervention should be. Similarly, a low risk of re-offending requires low intensive types of interventions. A mismatch in either direction can cause 'counterproductive' outcomes. For example, targeting low-risk offenders by means of highly intensive interventions, may increase the risk of re-offending. Obviously, this requires reliable risk assessment instruments.

According to the needs principle, interventions should work on the needs of the offender. Services should meet the needs of the offender. More in particular on *criminogenic* needs, that have a direct relation to criminal behaviour. Fulfilling those needs will reduce the likelihood of criminal behaviour. Among those needs are drug abuse, unemployment, poor housing, peer relationships

and problematic relations with authorities (teachers, employers). No direct relation exists between offending and *non-criminogenic* need like low self-esteem, feelings of depression, anxiety etc. Working on these non-criminogenic needs will therefore not lead to positive outcomes with respect to re-offending.

The responsivity principle draws attention to the fact that individuals differ from each other in personality, cognitive and behaviour characteristics. Obviously, this applies to offenders as well. For choosing adequate interventions, this means that work methods and style should be adjusted to the person one is working with. For some a *token-economy* approach will work out perfectly, for others a more flexible method is to be preferred. However, in general psycho-dynamic or client-centred methods are reported to be less appropriate. But it also means that the person should be actively involved in the intervention to be able to accomplish results that last. And at a more basic level, methods in which a lot of reading and writing is to be done, are obviously a bad choice for those offenders whose literacy skills are poor.

The principle of professional discretion requires from the workers delivering the programme flexibility in adjusting and changing programmes and methods to the possibilities of their clients. They should be able not only to monitor progress made, but also whether or not a programme does not perfectly match the offenders needs and potential.

Finally, the principle of programme integrity recommends delivering an intervention programme according to its outline, from start to finish. This principle is based on the experience that more than once programmes are changed over and over again. Not only is it more difficult to run a constantly changing programme, but it is also difficult to evaluate, since one cannot compare like with like.

Apart from knowing more about principles that make interventions work, we have also learned which interventions do less well. In general the following approaches show no positive and sometimes even negative outcomes (i.e. increased re-offending) (Gendreau et al., 1994):

- Programmes that target low risk offenders
- Traditional Freudian psychodynamic and Rogerian non-directive programmes
- Traditional 'medical model' approaches
- Subcultural and labelling approaches
- Deterrence and 'punishing smarter' strategies

This may have implications for many of the currently practised intervention methods. At least it may explain why sometimes the outcomes are not as promising as expected. We conclude by listing a number of assumptions, atti-

tudes and intervention type, some of which quite popular among practitioners or politicians, that will not lead to positive results (Gendreau et al., 1994):

- The assumption that 'talking' cures
- Building a good relationship with the client is the primary goal and will lead to good results
- Unravelling the unconscious is the primary focus and will lead to good results
- Gaining insight is a major goal and will lead to good results
- Resolving neurotic conflicts and self-actualising will lead to good results
- Externalizing blame to parents, staff, victims, society
- Diet change
- Pharmacological, e.g. testosterone suppressants for sex offenders
- Plastic surgery
- Respecting offender's culture
- Providing only legitimate opportunities without disapproval of negative (offending) behaviour
- Relying on incidental learning
- Diverting offenders from the stigmatization of the criminal justice system
- Using alternative sanctions with lower levels of punishment
- Boot camps, scared straight, electronic monitoring, shock incarceration.

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Part Two:
Reports on Practice - Preventive
Approaches
Towards Child and Juvenile Delin-
quency

3 Growing up Under Difficult Circumstances: Social Deprivation, Ethnicity and Crime Prevention

3.1 The Public Debate on Child and Juvenile Delinquency in Germany - an Introduction

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Before we focus our interests on the workshop's theme I want to introduce you to the present situation and the trends of juvenile delinquency in Germany. I'll do it by means of some theses.

Thesis 1

Juvenile delinquency has received a very high attention in the public discussion and priority in the programs of the political parties: the main issues are the feelings of insecurity and threat by rising figures of juvenile delinquency.

During the last two years the figures in almost all areas of juvenile delinquency have increased rapidly. Especially property offences like shoplifting are showing the highest increase – almost half of all juvenile criminal offences.

It seems to me that neither the increasing numbers of criminal offences nor the decreasing age of juvenile offenders are sufficient to explain the high priority of juvenile delinquency in public discussion or in parties' programs. For instance, it is one of the main issues of the present campaigns for the Parliament's election in September.

The discussion on juvenile delinquency oftentimes overlooks the fact that only 1 % of all youth and adolescents are concerned. Although the adults'

delinquency is also increasing, by far not so much attention is given to this development.

Thesis 2

Among the political parties there is great conformity about the necessary actions to stop juvenile delinquency: all of them have the tendency towards more repression and increasing penalties; i.e.:

- to lower the age for applying the adult's criminal law
- to lower the age of liability
- to extend the range of penalties
- to extend the admittance in community homes (Erziehungsheime)

These demands for more severe persecution and less compromises with regard to young people are taken as touchstone for increased innerstate security.

Thesis 3

The juvenile delinquency of non-German residents is of special interest to the political debate: their proportions of offences are somewhat higher as those of German youths: beside the mentioned trends – in addition – they are threatened by deportation. At the moment we have an example in Munich, where a highly criminal Turkish boy of 13 should leave Germany, and also his parents because of the violation of parental responsibility and according to the “principle” of keeping families together.¹

The possibility that foreign youths might become delinquent is oftentimes used in public discussions to oppose changes in Civil Law which would ease the naturalization of young foreigners.

Thesis 4

¹ In the meantime, the adolescent has reached the age of criminal liability and has been deported after having committed another crime. The parents' deportation on account of severe neglect of their childraising-duties has been prohibited by the court.

While the political parties mainly agree on the necessary steps to contain increasing juvenile delinquency, there is only little effort and interest in searching for its reasons: the already mentioned demands show us that the social and psychological status of youth and the circumstances of their families are less recognized: the penalties should primarily react to the offence (and not to the offender). Single cases of young delinquents are being scandalized in public media and reporting. This is exactly what contributes to seeing juvenile delinquency as “result” of individual pathologies. Such a view overlooks social and familial conditions and how they contribute to the development of violent behaviour. This view stands in contrast to many experts, among them the authors of the “10th Report of the German Federal Government on the Status of Children and Adolescents (1998)”. They all agree that the worsening economic situation of young people and their families, their experiences of social deprivation, increasing contrasts in social circumstances and the loss of perspectives for their lives are all helpful in explaining youth behaviour.

Thesis 5

These tendencies of political discussion and acting are leading to an overemphasis on the security- or police-aspects, the criminal and judicial actions. They neglect or suppress the role of youth work and welfare services (“Jugendhilfe”): the youth work and welfare services are under pressure with their educational efforts and their preventive orientation; often they can only have faith in a future integration, referring to studies which point out that only a few juvenile delinquents will also become delinquent adults. This is also the difference between a shorttime and a longtime perspective.

In contrast, the demands for security measures – which are predominantly supported by the public – promise more success in the short run. In a long-term perspective, however, they accomplish less social integration: juvenile convicts have a similarly high recidivism rate as do adults.

Thesis 6

As already pointed out, juvenile offences are regarded as personal deficiencies of the offender’s education, and an expression of a defective personality development. Families are – at least partly – regarded as responsible for these results, but the trends mentioned above fade out the family in the re-socialization or the revertible prevention of their youngsters. Youth work and welfare services could play an important role here, especially by means of their individual- and family-related approach (e.g. socio-pedagogical family support

measures). However, their cooperation with the police and the public prosecution office is not yet institutionalized.

The task of this workshop, as I see it, consists in presenting such socio-pedagogical measures which take difficult circumstances of children, adolescents and their families as their departure point, and consider these circumstances of living in the design of their support measures as well.

Therefore, the workshop focuses on juvenile delinquency under the conditions of social and family deprivation, in its geographical context (much of juvenile delinquency stems from urban low status neighbourhoods) and with respect to the ethnicity status of young people. In many cases these factors of living are linked to each other.

The contributions from The Netherlands, Great Britain, France and Germany should show similarities as well as different ways to handle these problems.

3.2 Youth Delinquency in Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods

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1 Introduction

Dutch crime statistics show a confusing picture with, on the one hand, a decrease in police recorded crime, on the other, an increase in criminal offences of over 50 per cent between 1980 and 1995, and in 1996 the first decrease in police recorded crime since many years (cf. table 1). So, as far as it can be derived from statistics, the Netherlands become a safer place. This is also true for the four major cities. Although all types of crime are still significantly more prevalent in the large and medium-sized cities than elsewhere in this country, a downward trend also in metropolitan crime rates can be established. The recent Metropolitan Policy Yearbook shows a steady decrease in police registered crime in the four largest cities from as early as 1994. Hence, the conclusion is that 'safety conditions in the Netherlands and the four major cities are gradually improving' (ISEO 1998, 130).

	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996
Penal Code	617.7	999.0	1052.5	1124.5	1073.9	5435	8374	8559	8877	8454
Including:										
Violence	26.5	37.2	50.3	54.6	66.7	234	311	409	510	525
Property	500.9	840.7	851.1	903.9	833.7	4421	7047	6924	7136	6563
Public order	84.8	117.5	146.7	152.5	170.4	749	985	1193	1204	1342
Traffic Act	74.6	80.8	82.1	89.2	105.2	558	677	36	704	828
Opiates Act	5.7	5.8	5.9	3.5	6.6	50	49	48	27	52

Source: Central Statistical Office (The Netherlands)

Table 1: Police registered crime per 1000 residents aged 12-79 (1980-1996)

All this is only highlighting one side, the one that appears from the figures. But the other side is great public disquiet over increasing violence and other forms of social disruption and crime, particularly in the large cities. The media report so-called 'needless violence', directed against any passer-by. Local authorities sound the alarm about crime issues in certain areas terrorised by hanging around – mainly ethnic minority – young people and socially paralysed by drug dealing and inherent crime. Notably such problems are reported to occur in the areas and neighbourhoods of the large cities that also socio-economically are highly deprived.

We discuss here that side of today's crime issues, not juvenile delinquency in general but the concentration of offences in certain spatial contexts (especially deprived metropolitan areas) and population categories (such as ethnic minorities). The first part of this paper presents an analysis of the problem: to what extent are violence and other offences concentrated in deprived metropolitan areas and amongst ethnic minority groups and what explanations can be found to it in literature. The second part of this paper analyses governmental policy in the areas concerned as has been conducted over the past years on combating crime-related problems.

2 Youth Delinquency, Districts, and Social Deprivation

The question whether crime is more prevalent in certain urban neighbourhoods and in certain population groups than elsewhere in society is a classical one in social sciences. It is the question if there is a connection between crime and social inequality. This question was already posed early in this century by sociologists of the Chicago School. The best known criminologists of this paradigm, Shaw and McKay (1942), show crime predominantly occurring in low socio-economical status areas, ethnically very heterogeneous and with a high residential mobility. The authors claim that social balance in such areas is disturbed by rapid change – industrialisation, population growth, settling immigrants and increasing ethnic variety. Social disorganisation of these districts and highly reduced social control provide room for crime and other undesirable behavioural patterns.

This ecological approach, and in particular a normative use of the 'social disorganisation' concept, has fallen into discredit in the past few decades. Recently, nevertheless, this approach has regained relevance, particularly in the United States where criminologists face the challenge to explain high violence and crime rates in black estates. According to Sampson and Wilson

(1995) the usual criminological explanations are inadequate here. They particularly point at two shortcomings of usual crime research. First of all, causes of criminal behaviour are too readily derived from personal features of law-breakers. Macro-social factors are often ignored. Sampson and Wilson speak of an individualistic fallacy. Parallel to that, a materialistic fallacy would apply if poverty or unemployment were directly associated with committing crime. Both authors are advocating a more nuanced approach. The objective is to demonstrate that social deprivation, 'joblessness' and increasing ethnic diversity are affecting district social life. On the one hand, young people from such neighbourhoods will easily decide – due to blocked social prospects – for alternative, partly criminal, careers. On the other hand, social life in these areas is under such a pressure – local residents mutually avoid contact, do not participate anymore in informal networks and do not feel responsible for what goes on in the streets – that crime and violence have a chance, certainly when even the police fear to visit such areas.

Although deprived metropolitan area crime is highly debated also in the Netherlands, actual concentration of crime in highly deprived urban districts was never demonstrated, until recently by Engbersen et al. (1998). The researchers explored if certain offences are more prevalent in highly deprived areas with many ethnic minority residents. Analysis was conducted with data available from the cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam on police recorded crime, but excluding both inner-cities from consideration. Namely, it appears from all current research that the inner-city shopping and raving centres attract many offenders. But under research here were residential estates and the question if crime is more prevalent in low income neighbourhoods with many people on welfare and of ethnic minority origin than elsewhere in the city.

This appeared roughly to be the case, be it not for all offences. Utrecht showed a close association between the degree of social deprivation – measured by the proportion of low incomes, households on welfare and minorities per neighbourhood – and the prevalence of social disruption, vandalism, assault and burglary. But another offence, breaking into cars, appeared not to relate to the extent of social deprivation, maybe because one breaks into cars in more prosperous areas. Also Rotterdam showed various offences significantly more often occurring in highly deprived areas. But the exception here to the general pattern was not theft from cars but burglary of dwellings. So, apart from the exceptions of both cities, the offences under scrutiny are more prevalent in highly deprived areas with many ethnic minorities than in other areas. The high correlation between low income, welfare, and ethnic minorities in the area has prevented the researchers in the analysing stage from separating the statistical effect of these three factors. Predominantly ethnic minority areas turn out also to be areas with the most: low incomes, welfare and recorded crime. This finding also remained uphold after checks on a number of demo-

graphic variables (notably the proportion of young people and the average residence duration in the neighbourhood). The concentration of crime in socially deprived areas, so, cannot be attributed to the predominance of young people and the shorter residence duration in these areas – so to a lesser degree of residents' commitment to the area.

But establishing an empirical association is not the same as explaining it. The low socio-economical status of the districts concerned and their high ethnic minority proportions do not cause the higher than elsewhere disruption and crime. Neither can it be stated that those who cause social disruption and crime (the offenders) belong to the lower socio-economic strata or to the ethnic minorities. The latter would be a so-called ecological fallacy, whereby features of social environments are confused with individual characteristics. In other words, the question is why there is so much more social disruption and crime in highly deprived and predominantly ethnic minority (two coinciding features) areas than elsewhere in the city. Factors that might account for concentrated disruption and crime in these areas are: the presence of (1) a group of (mainly young) residents with poor prospects, (2) a certain degree of social disorganisation and declined informal social control and (3) the opportunity to commit crimes. These three factors will briefly be discussed below.

First, we find groups, particularly of young people, in these neighbourhoods with little or no social prospects. Many of these mainly immigrant-originated youths are often low achievers or early school-leavers, thus ill-prepared for the labour market and not likely to find jobs or otherwise socially acceptable careers. This does not mean, though, that young people who turn to criminal ways find themselves at subsistence level. Many do have money but want to acquire more through criminal acts, which does not alter the fact that these youths belong to a disadvantaged population group in our society. Obviously, due to shared and in the network enhanced feelings of exclusion, some collective awareness emerges of having poor opportunities in this society. There being, at the same time, alternative ways of acquiring money and status, e.g. in the crime scene, then becomes an attractive option to young people.

Second, also some degree of disorganisation is conducive to the emergence of insecurity in socially-deprived areas. On the one hand, residents tend to leave such problem-ridden districts, on the other, there are paralleling processes of selective migration. Those who can afford move elsewhere, those who cannot remain behind and also most newcomers have no choice to decide for more attractive (more expensive) residential areas. Both processes – the major transitory processes in deprived areas as well as their selective influx and exodus – cause reduced commitment of residents to neighbourhood life. This means in turn that social control decreases in these districts and social disruption and delinquency have free play.

Third, it can be established that such areas obviously allow for criminal activities freely to be developed. It appears from research that a relatively large part of offences are committed within young people's own neighbourhood. But this does not only apply to those who are socially disruptive and hanging around, but also to those using violence against people and burgling property. The areas involved seem to provide the opportunity for rule-breaking or criminal behaviour. This can be physically as well as socially interpreted. Deprived areas might physically provide this opportunity through ill-lit streets and squares, and dwellings that are not sufficiently burglar-proof etc. And, socially, these areas sometimes accommodate 'criminal subcultures' (cf. Cloward and Ohlin 1961) of certain groups or circuits involving young people as well as adults who highly rate criminal behaviour. Youngsters are gradually getting familiar there with that behaviour and are learning the skills it requires. Finally these criminal circles can play a role in selling the goods stolen, which shows, for that matter, that some links with mainstream society still exist. To make crime pay one needs contacts with people who can pay for the goods stolen.

3 Youth Delinquency and Ethnic Minorities

Partly the same problem matter, but this time highlighted from a different angle, relates to the issue of ethnic minorities and crime. It appears from the 1997 government memorandum entitled 'Crime in relation to ethnic integration' that ethnic minorities are largely overrepresented in recorded youth crime. Table 2 gives an overview of it.

	Morocco	Antilles	Surinam	Turkey	Netherl.	Remainder*
<i>Aged 12 - 17</i>						
Percentage before court	15	5	7	6	55	12
total group percentage overrepresentation	11	11	5	4	1	4
	5.6	5.8	2.8	2.2	0.7	2.4
<i>aged 18 - 24</i>						
percentage before court	9	4	7	5	63	11
total group percentage overrepresentation	14	14	10	6	3	8
	4.3	4.4	3.0	1.8	0.8	2.5
<i>aged 25 and over</i>						
percentage before court	4	4	7	5	73	9
total group percentage overrepresentation	5	10	7	6	1	5
	4.1	8.0	5.3	1.8	0.8	4.0

* persons originating from Africa (excl. Morocco), Middle-East, Eastern-Europe, Central and South-America and the Far East

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Crime in relation to ethnic integration (1997)

Table 2: Number of young suspects before court, by ethnic origin

The above data require some explanation. The table shows that the majority of prosecuted youth crime is committed by suspects of Dutch backgrounds: 55%, 63% and 73% of all suspects before court in the three subsequent age groups. But also the group of Moroccan suspects is rather large: 15% of all suspects in the youngest age group, somewhat less in the subsequent two: 9% and 4% of all suspects. But overrepresentation of ethnic minorities is especially obvious if we compare the number of suspects from a particular category with the total number of young people from the population group concerned. It then appears that even 11% of all young Moroccans aged 12 - 17 have been brought before a Dutch court. The Antillean community in the Netherlands is smaller sized, but also of its young people 11% aged 12 - 17 have been brought before court. Of the subsequent age group of overrepresented young Moroccan and Antillean suspects before court this is even 14%. Young Surinamese and Turks are significantly less involved with criminal activities, be it still more than Dutch-originated young people.

The above evidence, for that matter, does not relate to organised crime, but to the so-called commune crime. It includes relatively minor offences such as theft, violence, vandalism, small-scale drugs dealing and disorderly conduct. It can be concluded that particularly young Moroccans and Antilleans have a relatively large share in this type of crime. As there are significantly more Moroccan than Antillean residents in the Netherlands, Moroccan crime rates are highest. Young Surinamese and Turks are relatively less involved with criminal activities, and Dutch young people the least. Apart from the size also the nature of offences shows differences between these populations. Higher proportions of Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese commit violent theft, property crime (burglary etc.) and offences against the Opiates Act. Young Turks' crime pattern deviates from this and is more similar to that of young Dutch, be it relatively more oriented to economic crime and to intimidation and assault. The above memorandum finally concludes that crime-related problems amongst immigrant young people are absolutely serious and that all recent efforts to break the trend of delinquency in these youngsters have not been successful (BiZa 1997, the Ministry of the Interior).

Nevertheless, the data presented here do require some nuancing. Evidence relates to the number of suspects brought before court in the Netherlands, but is the outcome of a long judicial process the picture of which might have been distorted in many ways.

First, distortion may be caused by citizens' varying preparedness to report and, inherently, varying prioritisation by the police often paralleled with campaigns to encourage citizens to actually report crime. For instance police focus on crime issues in a particular district or neighbourhood may initially only lead to increased crime records in the area concerned.

Worth noticing here is that citizens' preparedness to report as well as police action may be selective, so with more attention for crime committed by the one group than that of other groups. Another distortion may occur during the criminal trial. Before young people can be brought before court the police must first have arrested them and decided to actually prosecute them. Also here selectiveness may occur entailing a higher propensity of the one population to be arrested and prosecuted than suspects from another group.

Secondly, the above data do not incorporate the inter-connections between crime and socially deprived urban areas. Given the usually low socio-economic status of immigrants in deprived areas, it is not surprising that they – much more often than their Dutch peers – commit crime.

It has long been the done thing amongst criminologists and other social scientists to fully attribute the overrepresentation of ethnic minority young suspects to selective action of the police and courts and to the socio-economic backgrounds of these populations. But, in the meantime, this view is little adhered to today. Of populations with relatively the highest crime rates, the Moroccans and Antilleans, four to five times more young suspects are brought before court than on average young people of Dutch backgrounds. It is very unlikely that such great differences can be fully explained from selective police action and inequitable socio-economic backgrounds.

Establishing this raises the question why immigrant youths, especially young Moroccans and Antilleans, commit crime so much more frequently than on average is the case. Literature provides many explanations, that can roughly be divided into theories that primarily stress cultural factors and theories rather stressing socio-economic factors. Theories of the former category are predominant in governmental policies. For instance the above quoted 1997 memorandum entitled 'Crime in relation to ethnic integration' mentions the following three causes of ethnic minority youth crime:

- integration- and inculturation problems;
- social structure and family structure of the various ethnic populations;
- and marginalisation processes in schools and in the labour market.

The first is taken to mean the enormous cultural gap between the generally still agricultural countries or regions of origin and the industrialised Netherlands. This applies even more if one appreciates that most immigrant workers in the Netherlands derive from the most traditional regions of the country of origin. Suddenly in the Netherlands these immigrants are facing the values and norms of a modern permissive society. Children of migrants adopt these new values and norms much more readily than their parents do. The latter remain – certainly if they have a poor command of the Dutch language – orientated to the culture of their country of origin. This entails tensions within immigrant

families. Immigrant children do not feel understood at home and turn to the streets where, unfortunately, they often mingle with the wrong crowd.

Apart from that, the social structure and family structure of various ethnic minority groups entail risks of disruption. For instance social cohesion of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands is reported to be rather weak, as a contrast to e.g. that of the Turks community. Greater social control and closer social mobility furthering networks in the Turks community might explain why young Turks immigrants are much less involved with crime than their Moroccan peers are. Alongside that, also particular cultural characteristics of the various groups of origin would explain delinquency in ethnic minority young people. Take for instance Moroccan parents' little inclination to control the behaviour of their children (which they consider a governmental duty) and the many one-parent families in the Creole-Surinamese and Antillean communities, that are lacking fixed father figures, which would entail an above average risk of disruption.

Finally, the high risk of marginalisation to immigrant youths at school and subsequently in the labour market is pointed at. Many of them start their school careers with a great linguistic backlog and lack of cultural equipment. Usually they even drop behind rather than catch up these backlogs during the school period. Moreover, the Dutch school system often demands active involvement of parents – e.g. with homework support – immigrant parents, nevertheless, hardly can comply with. After primary school many ethnic minority young end up in the lower levels of the education system. Next, truancy and non-qualified school-leaving often cause achievement to further lag behind that of their Dutch-born peers. Hence, this low qualified immigrant young people finally have little opportunities in the labour market. It is in this marginalised position that their propensity to criminal behaviour, certainly if money is rapidly obtainable, is relatively high.

But other researchers seek the backgrounds to immigrant youth crime in structural rather than cultural factors: particularly the marginal socio-economic position many ethnic minority young people find themselves in. Starting from the social deprivation theory of the sociologist Merton it can be expected that youths who cannot legally achieve mainstream social goals (success, earnings) will find out alternative – possibly including illegal – ways. Merton speaks here of 'innovation'. This approach highlights crime in a total different way from the above approach. Viewed this way, the core of the issue could be young immigrants' lack of integration into and social commitment to mainstream society. But from a socio-economic point of view, the cause of the problem could lie in this strong be it frustrated integration.

Ethnic minority youths fully share the socially accepted objectives and needs which are highly related to success, making money and consuming (including going out). Nevertheless, they have little means to meet these

needs in legal ways. From that moment on two processes are set into motion. On the one hand, youth involved will then tend to pursue in illegal ways what they could not reach in legal ways. Criminal youth behaviour is often oriented to 'more money': drugs dealing, theft and burglary. This inclination will even be enhanced – or at least not countered – by many of them thinking that they have nothing or hardly anything to lose. Persons with prospects of sound social careers will be less likely to do things that might gamble these prospects away. The well-educated will certainly prevent themselves from having a criminal record, even when they have opportunities to illegally acquire 'rapid money'. Those who do not have such prospects of successful careers actually have little to lose. They are lacking the brake to stop themselves from developing criminal activities. This is not so much caused by poor integration into Dutch society or by little intellectual capacity – as it was stated in the influential American 1984 study entitled *The Bell Curve* by Herrnstein and Murray – but the result of carefully weighing objectives and the means available to meet them.

4 Crime Prevention in Deprived Areas: Current Policy

Over recent years Dutch newspapers have repeatedly reported on residential areas dominated by drug traffic and socially disruptive young people with somewhat threatening effects on fellow local residents. This recent attention for social disruption and crime in certain deprived areas – which often also accommodate many ethnic minority residents – blurs the fact that the problem matter of these areas is certainly not new. Similar areas were called 'back-street districts' 20 years ago and – more distantly – 'disadvantaged neighbourhoods' 10 years ago.

These are the areas 'we' think need extra to be highlighted because of the accumulation of their problems: relatively high unemployment, concentration of ethnic minorities, uncared for residential environments (litter), rows between neighbours, youngsters hanging around, alcohol and drug-related trouble, and all kinds of inconvenience and crime caused by young people. These are the areas in the large and middle-sized cities, generally with many dwellings (and tower blocks), where rents are relatively low and residents often do not benefit from the favourable economic climate. These are the areas that sometimes are compared – slightly exaggerated – with the black gettoes in America resulting from a socially dividing process also discernible in the Netherlands.

But such an analysis could make forget that nothing new is involved here. The phenomenon of these 'focus areas' as we currently call them is old, be it in a new shape. Nevertheless, it has become painfully clear in recent years that

such areas are becoming ever more black. In other words, they increasingly accommodate residents of other than Dutch ethnic backgrounds. The most recent development here is of new marginalised groups, such as (finally denied) asylumseekers or other illegal foreign residents, finding their 'shelter' in these areas (Engbersen et al. 1998).

But we see in retrospect that public attention for maturing children and their problems in these urban areas has varied widely. In the Netherlands – from the mid-70s to the mid-80s – youth work in urban areas and especially the 'focus areas' has much been invested in. In this period old and new types of social work were (re-)shaped, substantially as well as financially: community centres, playground associations, youth services, streetcorner work, work with marginalised youth, and policies of serving on the problem *finding spot*. These areas not only had well run community centres and playground associations, but also sufficient professional staff (youth workers, streetcorner workers and workers with marginalised youth). Focus was not just on 'vulnerable or problem youth' but there was a widely varied provision of activities and facilities for young people roaming the streets. Finally, most young people with serious problem behaviour (addiction-related trouble, serious crime) could be cross-referred to appropriate agencies (e.g. of social work or counselling).

Unfortunately, from the mid-80s we see young local residents of 'focus areas' decreasingly being highlighted. Under the pressure of cutbacks in state expenditure the number of youth workers dropped sharply and community centres gradually shifted their service provision and focus from youth towards other (more workable) target groups such as the elderly, or under-5s. In the mid-90s streetcorner workers and workers with marginalised youth were a nearly dying breed in this professional field. This period has shown various incidents with young people: riots caused by urban area youth e.g. in Enschede (Velve area), Groningen (Oosterpark area) and Amsterdam (Osdorp area). Sometimes predominantly ethnic minority youth were the rioting 'malefactors', e.g. young Moroccans in Amsterdam in a conflict with the police. People sometimes are amazed how situations can run out of hands in such areas. But it is the traditional deprived areas where economic cutbacks have seriously affected social networks of disaffected youth thus also lacking facilities.

The fact that the above described urban youth is hardly highlighted anymore by professionals would suggest a sudden major problem. But, on the contrary, the rare youth workers in such areas at the time had foreseen the trouble and drew local politicians' attention to it, but got no response and were incapable themselves of doing anything in addition about these problems. Recently, prime minister Kok generously admitted that also during his administration over the past four years insufficient investment had been made in areas that are actually in great need of it. Also he pointed at the shortage of youth work-

ers and the need for investment in improving formal and informal social infrastructures of areas.

It would be generalising to state, for that matter, that no area-based action has been undertaken in recent years for problem and vulnerable youth. What we see are actually two contrary developments occurring at the same time. On the one hand, one has omitted in the last decade to develop policy-based and structured attention for these young people. Especially that of youth workers decreased and that of streetcorner workers and workers with marginalised youth nearly disappeared together with much professional know-how. On the other hand, throughout the country – first within the so-called Social Renewal Scheme and next in the context of Metropolitan Policy and the Integral Safety Plans – hundreds of projects have been setup. We want to dwell more largely upon these area-based projects whilst referring to a national inventory survey of youth problem behaviour projects one of the authors of this article was closely involved in (Van Wijk and Ferwerda 1998).

But let us start with a general statement on youth behaviour that at the same time outlines the problem area of social disruptive youth and juvenile delinquency. Problems during the growing up process are not necessarily alarming, more or less inherent in maturation and corporeal change. The young person will learn to accept them as psycho-social problems (of loneliness, depressed moods and a negative self-image) and mostly 'solve' them properly himself. This is also true, be it to a lesser degree, of behavioural problems such as vandalism, crime and other risky habits. Such behaviours also are more or less normal and functional for many young people. They belong to the limit exploration phase and will just disappear in many cases. Nevertheless, it is stated that such risk behaviour (dangerous sports, alcohol and drug use, delinquency, etc.) may have positive as well as negative effects on the young person's development (Diekstra 1992, p. 130-1).

Current usage is *problem behaviour* rather than *risk behaviour*. Literature distinguishes between two types, externalising and internalising problem behaviour (Meeus et al. 1996; Hermans et al. 1996). Both relate to reactions of young people to problem situations: the young person viewing a problem as related to himself and considering himself a major cause of the problem. Some consequences may be: negative self-perception, stress, and/or depressed moods. This internalising problem behaviour, predominantly prevalent in girls, is often not directly visible, externalising problem behaviour – contrarily rather occurring in boys – is. The young person comes to grips with his/her problems by taking out frustrations on others or on the environments, e.g. in cases of risky habits, truancy, aggression and crime.

Youth policy focus is very often on this externalising problem behaviour being more inconvenient to society. This emphasis on socially disruptive youth also appears from one project in our inventory (Cf. Van Wijk and Ferwerda

1998). The greater proportion of over 500 listed projects deal with externalising problem behaviour. In other words, combat of socially disruption and visible problem behaviour is predominantly invested in. Internalising problem behaviour is much less highlighted, so being kept in the dark but equally detrimental to the young person involved. Neither the roots of both kinds of behaviour are much focused on. Hence, it can be stated that in many cases only symptoms are blocked or problems are only shifted. Many projects exclusively concentrate on influencing young people's public behaviour, but neglect to integrally include the roots of such behaviour. More in general the following issues emerge from the inventory study:

- In coherence with the above description it can be stated that current projects are of a one-sided nature in that they concentrate on boys problem behaviour. Project-based attention for girls or young women and their problem behaviour is very limited. This can partly be explained from the fact that boys cause more inconvenience to society. But we should not forget that internalising problem behaviour often is equally damaging to the young person affected (Cf. Van der Ploeg 1998).
- Current projects also are restricted by admission requirements put on participants. Many projects mention (drug) addiction and psychiatric problems as contra-indications to participation in the project. Nevertheless, it is just such trouble most problem youth, e.g. young drifters, contend with. Exactly these groups are excluded from services by the contra-indications operated. Another restriction is that many projects focus on one (visible) problem area, usually of social disruption in a specific neighbourhood. But we know that problems seldom occur in isolation. Isolated approaches to separate problems entail – partly necessarily – closing one's eyes to underlying problem matter. Many projects are thus reduced to symptom control.
- Many projects are of a temporary nature often are setup with an allocated grant for several years and expected to result in a permanent – financial – embedding into existing structures after completing the project period. It is very doubtful whether this succeeds in all cases. Numerous projects – successful or not – are informally reported to have prematurely been terminated after some years. This means that the baby is thrown out with the bath water when projects were well functioning and is sometimes termed a non-stop merry-go-round: projects come and go without achieving any permanent change (Reijndorp and Van der Zwaard 1996).

Furthermore, it is very remarkable that projects are hardly evaluated in systematical ways.¹:

¹ The inventory shows only an estimated 5% of projects to be thoroughly evaluated.

- This means in concreto that no 0-measurements are conducted at the start, no measurable objectives are defined and no intermediate and final assessment is made. As a result no hard conclusions can be drawn from the effects of projects, which in turn makes it easier for grant-givers to early give up projects after some time.
- Finally it should be noted that nowhere in the Netherlands an up to date survey is currently available of projects directed at problem behaviour in young people. For several reasons a well functioning 'project bank' is needed in the Netherlands. First, because this can serve as information centre and prevent 'similar wheels from being re-invented' in various locations of the country. Second, to mutually learn from information and failures, which is hardly possible now owing to the local nature of many projects.

In final conclusion it can be established that over recent years there has been much project-based attention for youth problem behaviour but one-sided and restricted in some respects. First of all, these projects emerged in a time where structural attention for problem youth – i.e. maintaining a well functioning formal and informal social infrastructure for young people – substantially decreased. It could be stated that the general focus on young people has been more or less replaced in recent years by a specific focus on partial problems of (predominantly socially disruptive) youth. With the disappearance of structured attention for young people, we also steadily lose our links with them and our insight in their problem matter.

Second, today's project-based attention for youth problem behaviour is limited because it mainly focuses on externalising problem behaviour in boys, whilst internalising problem behaviour and girls problems are very marginally highlighted. Emphasis is on intervention to those elements of youth behaviour that are more inconvenient to society. Behaviour that may be equally problematic – at least for the young person involved – but less or not socially disruptive is discounted.

Third, surveys of projects are hardly countrywide and there are few in-depth evaluations providing insight into success and failure factors of projects. This enhances the risk that the quality of care for problem youth – with respect for the effective and integral projects – becomes ad hoc and incident-led.

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3.3 The AGADIR Intervention Project¹

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In February 1994 a scheme was designed for the AGADIR Intervention Project defining the objectives and working method to start with. The project was given three years to develop. After that period of time the approach was to be implemented into the working methods of mainstream bodies. In August that year the project actually started. In 1995 an intermediate evaluation report was issued in which several aspects of the project were elaborated in more detail, such as identification of the target group, the working method and contacts with other agencies. In this intermediate review, in line with other projects, it was established that the categories of 'hard core' and 'hangers on' cannot easily be distinguished in practice and insufficiently correlate to the problematic situations young people might be involved in. Hence, it was then decided to make a different distinction, namely between first offenders, the group with 'signal' behaviour, the group with 'signal' behaviour plus, and the remaining group of young people already finding themselves in criminal careers. The target group would be constituted by the second and third category. Signal behaviour is taken to mean young people's offending 'as a signal to their environment that in some respect all is not well with them'. The same is true for signal behaviour plus, but this includes repeated crime, frequent police encounters and acting as a leader.

Problem Situations

The project scheme indicates that young Moroccans who show forms of criminal behaviour often display multiple problems. Hence, youth counsellors should expressly explore the actual conditions and well-being of young people in the various life spheres. The project scheme outlines a profile of the possible problem situations young Moroccans may find themselves in. Seven aspects are identified here:

- 1 Young Moroccans' orientation to Dutch society may lead to clashes with their parents, especially fathers, who maintain traditional authority-based

¹ From: Th. M. van Duin. Stepping-stone towards the straight and narrow. Evaluation of the Leiden AGADIR Intervention project: LISWO, Dec. 1996

relationships and are hardly able to follow the development of their children. These clashes can be serious because they are not only based on a generation conflict or an adolescent phase, but refer to a gap in the social, educational, communicative and cultural sphere. The youngsters also experience these clashes as painful because they still respect and value family ties.

- 2 Certainly in the case of tensions within the family young Moroccans prefer to hang around with peers in the streets because of limited space at home.
- 3 The pocket money families can afford is often insufficient such that extra earnings need completely or partially to be handed over to parents. But, alongside that, young Moroccans are susceptible to lifestyle features, especially expensive brand clothing. This is an important status symbol that reinforces the seduction of seeking extra income through property crime.
- 4 School careers of young Moroccans tend to lag behind those of their peers. Backlogs can escalate due to decreasing self-confidence, feelings of isolation, behavioural problems and truanting.
- 5 Also poor education weakens the position of many young Moroccans in the labour market. Unemployment, as a consequence, is high and income low.
- 6 Young Moroccans encounter the police over twice as often as their Dutch peers of the same socio-economic class. Before age 18 one in three has encountered the police. The age of first police encounters is dropping. The rate of repeated crime is relatively high.
- 7 Mainstream care is insufficient to meet the norms and values of young Moroccans. Many of them are unfamiliar with its verbal culture, inadequate orientation to practical solutions and norms such as own responsibility, voluntary cooperation, intrinsic motivation and emphasis on individuality.

These starting points clarify why the programme counsellors in the AGADIR project try to empathise with the youngsters. The problem analyses and solution orientations to be developed are context-based and flexible, so, or based on the young person's life situation. The 1995 intermediate report shortly dwells upon that. Key concepts in programme counselling are problem-oriented working, integral visions of young people's experiences, norms, values and perceived problems, enhancing own responsibilities and problem solving potential and regaining confidence, e.g. by working with a fixed counsellor as case manager over the whole period.

Format and Working Method

The AGADIR project operates an intensive and community-based form of care that centralises individual programme counselling. The 1994 project scheme expressly starts from an approach that is linked with judicial sanction options.

Concrete improvement is needed in the various life spheres (school/work, housing, general welfare and sound relations with the parents and the Moroccan community). Improved relations with the parents are a high priority because of the age of the youngsters, the importance of proper social control countering the risk of slipping down further, the positive effect on young people's well-being from pleasant relationships with their parents and the supportive role the latter can fulfil for young people in various areas.

The intervention team is cooperating with agencies in the above fields. Therefore, covenants have been drawn up with various bodies such as the police, the Council for Child Care and Protection, the Probation and Aftercare Service, the Child Care Foundation, the Youth Probation Service, the Public Prosecutor, the ESZ service, General Social Work services and 't Stathuus Youth Centre. These agencies lay down here, in principle, that they will make efforts to refer and/or support young Moroccans. In addition, agreements to cooperate will be drawn up specifying the contribution of each agency per case.

After a young person's assessment, an 'AGADIR project-based code of conduct' will be signed by him or her as well as by the programme counsellor (see Annex). This stipulates in nine lines what is and what is not to be expected from the young person during the programme counselling period. So this service contract includes behavioural guidelines, with sanctions in cases of breach.

After analysis of the problems and backgrounds of the young person, a care plan is drawn up. This defines the problem area, the way it will be dealt with, and what contribution the young person and the bodies in cooperation are to make.

LISWO Evaluative Research

The Netherlands Research Institute of Social Sciences has conducted mid-1996 an evaluative study into the AGADIR project. It concentrated on the core duty of the project: individual programme counselling for young Moroccans. Apart from evaluation of outcomes, the method developed in the project has also been under scrutiny and the success factors that can be derived from it. Finally, the study explored how young people themselves, their parents, the

programme counsellors and the agencies involved value the approach and the results of the project.

Scope and Results

The AGADIR intervention project had aimed to reach 80 young Moroccans in the project period. This aim has amply been met.

At least 60% of programme counselling had to be successful in terms of leaving the programme and entering employment or education. Also 60% was to lead to demonstrable change entailing the absence of police encounters during the programme period and for six months after leaving. These aims too have been met, with a success rate of 69 per cent.

Better after-care

The second check, no further police encounters for six months after leaving the programme, was positive given the absence of indications to the contrary from the police or other members of the core group. The check would become more reliable if from now on a young person's process of welfare were assessed six months after leaving the programme; for, problems may have re-occurred in the life of a young person unnoticed by a worker. This means that at least one instance of 'active' assessment and after-care should be added to the 'passive' monitoring through the members of the core group and to an adequate client monitoring system. Not less than six months after counselling the young person will be contacted on how s/he fares. That procedure is not necessarily carried out by AGADIR. Other workers, such as school mentors, who already have a certain confidential relationship with those concerned, could take it over.

Wide scope

Comparison of the number of young people reached (87) with the total number of Moroccan boys (361 by 1 January 1996) within the related age group (12-25) in Leiden shows that as many as a quarter of them have visited AGADIR. The Leiden police estimated in 1992 that one-third of all Moroccan boys have police contacts. It is considered to reach as high as possible a proportion of them, which is more readily achievable owing to the sound reputation of the project with referring agencies as well as with the Moroccan community

3.4 Area-based Justice (JIB) in Arnhem

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1 Justice Closer to Citizens and Their Problems

In some areas of a number of Dutch cities district law centres were opened in 1997. Following the French example, the justice system wants to set up, jointly with the residents, problem-oriented cooperation in order to prevent serious forms of disruption. Area-based justice is an experiment to be continued up to 1999. If the results are positive such district law centres will open in many more districts.

Objective

Each area law centre must make a direct and defined contribution to safety and law enforcement in the district. In close contact with local residents the justice system wants to prevent escalation by: rapid and targeted action against street crime, social disruption and conflict situations; damages-related court orders, judicial case disposals and information services.

Mission

Neighbourhood justice provides an open and accessible place in the area where residents can report with all legal questions. The centre is staffed with lawyers. They listen, mediate and prevent problems from running out of control and heavier means from being necessary, such as fines or trials. The area law centre must have a preventive dimension and staff must have the powers to actually solve problems.

In order for the experiment to be successful from the start, sound cooperation is needed between judicial staff, the police, the Council and other local organisations.

2 Introduction

The first area-based law centre in the Netherlands opened by February 1997 in the Malburgen area of the city of Arnhem. The centre is located in a small shopping centre of the area and its daily opening hours are from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m..

Malburgen is an area of about 17,000 residents. Problems characteristic of the district include drugs (social disruption), truancy, youth crime and deterioration of the neighbourhood.

3 Organisation, (Sub) Goals and (Intended) Action

Also Arnhem JIB has its own accommodation, i.e. an office in a small shopping centre in the area. The location is somewhat comparable to that in Amsterdam.

The team consisting of Public Prosecutor and Court Secretary makes up the public face of Arnhem JIB (area-based justice). In Arnhem the general aims are defined as follows:

- to experiment with working methods in order to tackle area-based safety in a non-conventional way and
- to improve the image-building of the justice system.

4 Expectation Pattern of Network Partners

An important mission of Arnhem JIB is to stimulate local cooperation networks. The various organisations expect that cooperation between the different network partners can be improved by efforts from, amongst others, JIB.

The police expect JIB's presence to enable them to work more rapidly, and to focus more closely on offenders. Rapid punishment is effective and demonstrates the judicial and police work to the local residents. The JIB working method is expected to allow for better tailor-made services around social disruption, crime and repeated crime. Furthermore, the various organisations expect justice to become more accessible to members of the public. Accessibility is still considered too poor, the consequence being that residents facing trouble will not readily report to justice. Effective and visible JIB responses are expected to enhance residents' awareness of norms (because judicial response follows behaviour that deviates from the norm), which will promote a greater preparedness to report offences.

5 Outcomes

This section describes how far JIB meets the above expectations.

Enhanced awareness of justice

It is true for non-standard partners of the justice system that they – since JIB is based in the Malburgen area – have a closer knowledge of the systems occupations and what they can mean for their own functioning. All eleven organisations under research report that they are aware of JIB objectives. Their attitudes towards these objectives can be termed positive without exception.

According to community workers, JIB must do a lot to enhance judicial awareness amongst local residents. Knowledge from the streets, including many prejudices on justice, must be converted into actual knowledge of judicial processes.

Enhanced visibility

The physical visibility of the justice system has improved, in Arnhem as elsewhere, by establishing a law centre in the area. In addition, community sentences imposed by JIB and carried out locally are visible to residents. Rapid and tailored sentencing seems to be becoming known with the residents, not least because the JIB activities are published in the community newsheet.

Enhanced accountability

The justice system, according to the participants in the debate, is now clearly more accountable than the Public Prosecutor used to be who is reported to be prepared to address problems such as social disruption jointly with other bodies. The horizontal workings of the system are very positively rated in contrast to the vertical in which the Public Prosecutor used to operate.

Enhanced rapidity and efficiency through shortening the circuit

The Probation Service notices that the Public Prosecutor of JIB is effective in enabling cases to be disposed in a quicker way. For instance, the Public Prosecutor has requested the Probation Service to submit brief reports in order to gain time. But experience shows that the procedures operated by the Probation Service in making these reports prevent this time gain from occurring. The police notices that the rapid and offender-oriented approach already has yielded a number of successes.

Summonses are issued soon after interrogation. This used to take longer so that rapid track punishment did not succeed

The short and direct lines are practical. But as for the information exchange between JIB and the Police, it turns out to be very difficult to shorten the circuit. We shall go into that in more detail in the next section.

Enhanced effectiveness of measures by better insight in problems

The organisations involved agree that JIB provide made-to-measure services because it is close to the problems. Having duty punishments carried out in the community is regarded as particularly effective. The Probation Service comments here that there is no foreman present yet in the area to supervise the execution of duty sentences, and indicates that this might undermine their use in the community.

If a young person is sent into the district to carry out a duty punishment s/he is hanging around all the time because s/he is still unsupervised, which may provoke scepticism amongst the residents. The actual effect of the community duty sentence is then the contrary to what is intended.

Added value to the network

The participants in the panel debate have indicated that they approve JIB joining the discussion on the problems in the area. This addition of pragmatism and knowledge is perceived as very valuable as is a very active role of the Public Prosecutor.

JIBs active attitude has enhanced greater preparedness to emerge so that social disruption can be addressed in conjunction.

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3.5 Working with Parents and Families in Migrant Communities in the Context of Juvenile Delinquency Prevention

Alp Otman

Intercultural Office, Science City Darmstadt

Juvenile delinquency prevention is a multi-dimensional task. An important – but often neglected – dimension is working with young people’s parents or families. The neglect of this particular cooperation is not accidental – there are obviously barriers of non-appreciation as far as the status of this work and the difficulties involved in realizing it are concerned. This applies even more to working with parents and families in migrant communities. The barriers against understanding and the difficulty of achieving practical results are linked to some exceptional features of youth work, to the welfare “support culture” extended to migrant men and women, and to overall political conditions in Germany during the last few decades.

One barrier against understanding results from the concepts of youth welfare services that were developed in the educational and socio-educational discourse of the seventies. According to one of these concepts, it was a measure of the quality of youth work to avoid cooperation with parents and families, because only then did it seem possible to side with young people in an uncompromising way in the case of conflict with those parents and families.

This narrow interpretation of the partisanship paradigm, which is undoubtedly positive for young people’s well-being, has repeatedly been referred to as a basis for working with migrant youths. In this context, one should add that the structures of migrant families have generally been classified as traditional and nostalgic, which may well be an empirical truth in many individual cases. Communication problems with migrant families and anxiety about getting involved have caused German youth workers to circumvent community projects.

This practice has had the effect that youth work professionals consider dealing with migrant parents or families to be a peripheral, if not superfluous and unmanageable, task. So they delegated it to other persons and organizations, preferably native speakers. Due to this understanding of their work, which we find both inside and outside of schools and even in child care, educational and socio-educational professionals have deprived themselves of their own possibilities.

Ignoring the cooperation with parents and families and putting it under a taboo went hand in hand with a welfare “support culture” in migrant projects and

an “educational permeation” of schools. “Education for foreigners” has distinguished itself by applying a deficient individualizing concept, seeing migrant children as lacking in knowledge and striving to adapt them culturally to German middle-class norms. Instead of looking at the full range of differences within the community, this concept understood migrant families’ culture of origin to be a static, homogeneous and retrogressive tradition and held people responsible for “choosing to live in ghettos”.

The “intercultural” concept took up the cause of replacing “education for foreigners” by addressing minorities and majorities at the same time and taking into consideration the overall political conditions in social work and education.¹ However, the intercultural concept, that had opened a promising perspective for community work, was itself pushed into a corner by critics of “ethnic and cultural over-emphasis”, before it had a chance to come down from the heights of theoretical discourse to the plain fact of having to work inside and outside of schools.

This narrow understanding of youth work concepts and their corresponding “support culture” are connected to the weak tradition of community work in Germany. In contrast, Anglo-Saxon countries have had successful concepts of community organizing and community education for decades. Attempts were made here to learn from the practical experience of these projects and to develop similar initiatives under our conditions.

An important example are the “Regional Offices for Supporting Foreign Children and Adolescents”, which have existed in many communities of North Rhine-Westphalia since the early eighties. Meanwhile, other “Länder” have them, too. They are a model of intercultural networking that brings together school and non-school projects with community structures.²

Existing concepts of “German” community work from the last two decades, however, have to be classified as an administrative kind of social planning, rather than the variant that invites participation, activating people “at the bottom” and, therefore, from the point of view of prevention, being more interesting for migrant families.³ More recent discussions of community-oriented youth work, based on theories of modernization, do not relate at all to the social environment of city districts. Instead, they point out complex interrelations that young people live with in city landscapes, split up into many segments, and disregard parent and family work altogether.⁴

This position, however, fails to see – just as the older variant of social planning did – that migrant communities really do exist, particularly in city conurba-

¹ cf. Auernheimer, G. (1995), p. 15.

² Hofmann, K. (1993).

³ Nodes, W./Behrendt, Th. (1997).

⁴ Kilb, R.(1996).

tions. They are not necessarily cohesive “ethnic neighbourhoods” as in Berlin-Kreuzberg, but they do, in any case, fulfil certain functions as community structures, e.g. they assume the authority to integrate generations of young people growing up there, or they exercise a specific kind of social control. While some ethnic communities are shrinking, others are expanding, e.g. through marriage with someone from the country of origin or through an influx of political refugees. In this context, it is important to realize that living in communities is the reality of all migrants and does not lead per se to a “parallel” or even a “counter-society” (certain political conditions are required for that to happen), whereas under different conditions these communities can build a bridge to integration. It is important to understand this, particularly in projects with the “second” and “third generation”

Whether we want this to happen or not, living in communities leads to a strong influence of the family on the way migrant youths design their lives, whatever planning variety there might be – a stronger influence than among Germans of the same age. When choosing a job or a husband/wife, it is not individual leanings and goals that matter so much, but rather the family consensus, in whatever way it might be achieved and granting a wide range of behaviour patterns. The values and norms of ethnic communities (though modified in comparison to the country of origin) continue to matter for a relatively large number of youths, even if they are subject to a constant transformation process. Acknowledging this reality of migration, which does not mean agreeing with it, is an important prerequisite for youth welfare services and, in fact, for any kind of educational or socio-educational work with migrant youths.

Therefore, people working in juvenile delinquency prevention should be aware of the reality of ethnic communities if they want to deal successfully with parents and families, and they should know how to use the structures and mobilise the resources of these communities. This requires many contacts to formal and informal minority representatives. A relationship of trust can then grow and become the basis for cooperation.

German professionals working in education and social help do not have many problems with migrant youths, but as a rule, they are uncertain when making contact with parents or adult family members, especially of the opposite sex. Migrants, on the other hand, see obstacles for parent and family work in cultural communication problems (language difficulties, different values and ideas about education), in the sex-specific family hierarchy, different opinions about the tasks and roles of institutions (i.e. their professional members) and parents.

Qualified native speakers often get a bonus of trust in migrant families, which they can lose if, for instance, they act professionally and have to “change roles”. In their opinion, problems in parent, family and community work result from organizational features such as irregular time management, or

a lack of content structuring on the side of community representatives, or migrant associations are weak as institutions and cannot recruit new members (having only a limited number of regulars), they cannot distribute tasks meaningfully, compete with one another in a destructive manner and form unnecessary hierarchies.

All these barriers and difficulties are not insurmountable. There are a lot of qualified and committed educational and socio-educational people that do successful parent and family work in migrant communities, each in their field. This successful aspect of intervention and prevention is not always visible. A good example is the project "Ahornstraße" in Frankfurt/Main which has frequently been quoted in the media.

As in any big city, there are districts and single streets in Frankfurt/Main (migrant population: 28%) where ethnic and social segregation become one. In such "multi-problem zones", stigmatisation creates a favorable climate for socially deviant behaviour, mainly among migrant youths, that shows in delinquent group actions and particularly in violence. In the Ahornstraße in the west of Frankfurt, the situation got dramatically worse in February 1993 when a youth was shot dead in a gang conflict. Municipal politicians had to act quickly as public pressure mounted. The Youth Department was successful with instant self-help provision, redirecting the destructive forces among young people towards a commitment for their neighbourhood. A project to redesign and renovate a street was carried out by young people according to their own ideas and supported unbureaucratically by a broad network of institutions. While a special police unit proceeded with repressive measures against recidivists, social services strengthened their youth support by hiring additional street workers. The city council is planning to sort out the population structure. Delinquency in the neighbourhood is decreasing.

Can we say, then, that "mobilisation at the bottom rung" with a preventive effect and, apparently, without parent and family work has succeeded? This aspect is nowhere to be found in the literature on the project.⁵ However, a relationship of trust with the migrant communities has been built up by committed professionals in many contacts over the years (especially by the head of the local day care centre for children – she was awarded the order of the Federal Republic of Germany for her efforts), and this trust is an important requirement for successful intervention.

Another example of preventive work with migrant communities in Frankfurt is the "Stop the Violence" project modelled on a New York initiative. It was developed in 1992 against the background of violent conflict – more so during summer holidays – between Afro-American youngsters from the US military compound and migrant youths of Turkish and Moroccan origin. The US military

⁵ Frankfurter Kinderbüro (Hrsg.) (1994) or Jaschke, H.-G. (1998).

administration and the Turkish "People's House" are the organizers of the project which is supported by the City Council. Youngsters from both communities participate in workshops together with young people of other origins and under the guidance of professional musicians, they produce rap texts about their everyday lives and include the topic of violence. They go on stage at numerous events with a total audience of more than 3000 youths. The response is multiplied in the media. Violence among youth groups is on the retreat.

This example again shows that a project can develop its full preventive potential if it is firmly embedded in the structures of migrant communities.

It is interesting to note that the concept of working with migrant communities has become the focus of public attention again, not so much because of discussions about adequate methods of social work, but rather because of discussions about "community-oriented police work"⁶ and local crime-preventive organizations.⁷ In order to achieve a breakthrough here, a stronger "intercultural opening" of educational and social service institutions is required, as is the ongoing training of qualified staff. Youth work institutions do provide more and more services for intercultural cooperation with schools.⁸ But only few of them include the structures of migrant communities which enable them to achieve a greater preventive effect.

Last but not least, accomplishing intercultural community work is closely linked to accepting immigration at the political level and to putting into practice a social integration concept based on equal rights and equal chances.

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3.6 Children's and Juvenile Delinquency and Socio-Pedagogical Family Support

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The following text is based on experience and knowledge from 14 years of work in socio-pedagogical family support. Socio-pedagogical family support (SPFS) in Germany is a facility provided by the Child and Youth Services Act (Kinder- und Jugendhilfe-Gesetz= KJHG) and is delivered as a supportive in-home family service for (usually: multi-problem, poor) families in need. It is the only concept in youth services which explicitly refers to families as a system in their everyday life context. It is a regular facility offered by the youth welfare department and is available to all families. According to needs it can be obtained for time budgets up to twenty hours a week or – on average – up to 18 months, in extraordinary cases for several years. It is considered suitable for situations where it cannot be ensured that a child's or juvenile's upbringing is beneficial and where the support chosen is both necessary and appropriate. The service is free of charge.

Experience with Children's and Juvenile Delinquency in the Context of SPFS

The results presented below are based on cooperation with 27 families. First I want to focus on the family system context of children's and juvenile delinquency; then I want to look at results ("outcomes") after SPFS-intervention using a 6-stage self-help model presented below.

What Offences Occurred in the Families?

Generally speaking, they ranged from:

Criminal offences	number of children/youths
Theft:	
at school	11
In shops	28
Repeated cases ¹	6
Forging signatures / school, truancy	3
Fare-dodging	12
Arson on a low scale	3
Violation of property / vandalism	4 / 4
Bodily harm	3
Drugs	3 ²
In sum	77

Perspective: Just one offence that becomes public can be a sign of the young person being seriously at risk, but it does not have to be. Further development depends both on the reaction of those affected and of others who are involved and on the possible sanctions.

If, however, a child or juvenile commits several offences, repeatedly, then this is a probable indication of latent, chronic or acute problems.

How are the offences distributed with regard to number, age and sex?

In 27 families there were 34 children and juveniles with delinquent behaviour which became known. Of these, 24 were male and 10 female.

The age distribution is as follows: in the age group of 0 - 6 years: 1 child (male); in that of 7 - 13 years: 28 children (19 male, 9 female); and in the age group of 14 - 18 years: 5 juveniles (4 male, 1 female).

Perspective: If a child³ or juvenile commits several offences at a relatively early age or over a longer period of time before reaching the age of criminal

¹ It is not possible to register "theft at home". In case of "lost children/youths" "theft at home" is a common indicator of a lack of belonging and future perspectives.

² After finishing SPFS in three cases in the long run drug addiction to a considerable extent evolved.

liability, then it may be presumed that there is an increased level of pressure in family systems to find a solution and a greater need of support.

Juvenile Delinquency in the Context of the Family System

Juvenile delinquency, families and the border situation of custodial care

The question is how far the “families” perspective is relevant in the context of juvenile delinquency. Or is juvenile delinquency an individual phenomenon? The correlation of juvenile delinquency, the family situation and “alternative accommodation” as a solution in border cases should supply some answers. In two families at the end of SPFS and in six families after a period of up to three years after SPFS , custodial care was considered the appropriate solution.

In all these eight families there had previously been critical solutions whose consequences built up into problems, one of which was juvenile delinquency. One example:

Offence	family situation: problem-orientated view	Effects
Shoplifting Group Offences, vandalism violence against other children	Son (10) has been growing up with lone mother who "fights against the whole world". He became independent at an early age, his needs were unanswered, constant oscillation between being spoilt and being rejected. Family lives in poverty, welfare despite income, mother works illegally. Violent upbringing and violent outbursts on his part, high level of relation conflicts at school, tendency towards feelings of persecutions by institutions.	a) Identity crisis in the context of highly ambivalent experiences of attachment and environment; aversion to institutions b) Escalation due to lack of orientation

This is the only family where compulsory custodial care was the result; this was at the end of SPFS

³ In order to keep the text short, only the term "juvenile delinquency" is used below, even though children's delinquency is always included

Context: Juvenile Delinquency and Migrant Families

Of the 27 families under particular consideration here due to juvenile delinquency, six foreign families were affected, whereby two families were binational (German/foreign) ones and four were of foreign origin.

Offence	Family situation	Effects
Fare dodging Burglary	Son (11) started school at the age of 8 and has considerable integration problems which are overshadowed in particular by the violent death of his father in a country under civil war and by his mother's traumatising due to numerous additional deaths among her family and friends ... 3 older sisters in puberty. Family lives in poverty, on welfare. After SPFS kid commits a series of burglaries, probably as an expression of worsening of a) loneliness, b) grief at his c) breaking out of family confinement.	a) Identity crisis due to familial traumatising and disintegration arising from isolation b) Escalation into desperate hopelessness heightened by puberty. Perspective for the future uncertain

Single-parent family

Perspective: Sense of belonging and perspective for the future become uncertain.

Summary

Family contexts give information on problem organisation in cases of juvenile delinquency.

Perspective

When family solutions in core, single-parent and step-families of domestic and foreign origin sharpen dynamically into crises and/or become hopelessly chronic and the living conditions seem equally hopeless, then children/ juveniles can feel a lack of a sense of belonging and of a perspective for the future.

Among other things, they express this for the time being through child/juvenile delinquency. In fact the children and juveniles, and their families too, are looking for a better future and a better personal situation.

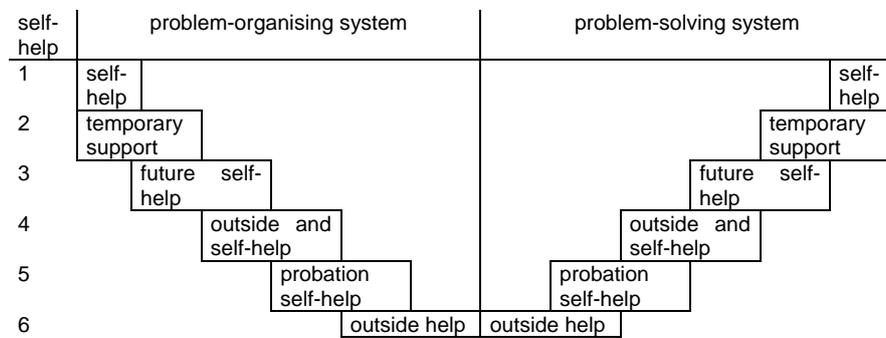
Juvenile delinquency appears to occur with a medium to high risk when:

- the family's way of coping, i.e. family solutions ...,
- the material and relational level in their dynamism and
- the juveniles' perspectives (which can also be found on the parental level) become confused, do not develop as expected, i.e. when a sense of belonging and perspective for the future are threatened.

What are the Results of SPFS Intervention? How to Rate Them with Regard to Prevention?

Self-help: Basic model of problem organisation and solution (Anderson/Goolishian 1990)

The following basic model of problem organisation and solution in the context of self-help can be given:



Phase model of self-help, support and outside help: problem and solution

Perspective: This model shows both a problem-organising and a problem-solving perspective. SPFS wants to help families to reach or get back to a higher level of self-help in solving their problems.

SPFS and self-help in 27 families/with 34 children ...

Evaluation: The overall results show that the risk of “alternative accommodation” was reduced (from 30 to eleven cases, of which two were put into “alternative accommodation” and nine opted for the “Probation” strategy). In other words, family solutions led to solutions which were appropriate for children.

The cases of children at risk (16 cases) were reduced after SPFS to the degree that over a period of three years there were six cases of “alternative accommodation”, whereby one was compulsory and the remaining five voluntary.

Perspective: In the course of working with 27 families (in the field of juvenile delinquency), none of the families stopped cooperating.

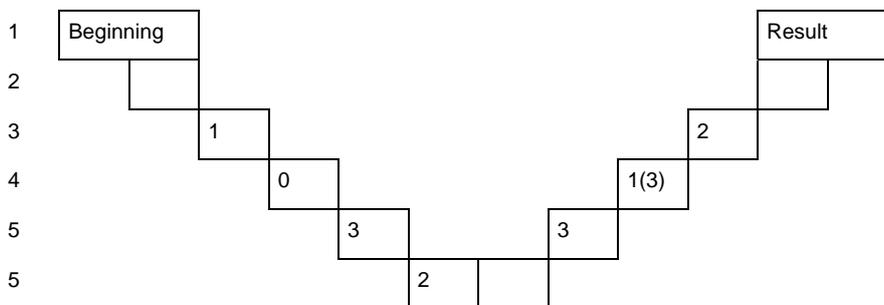
A genuine risk to the children’s well-being was generally cancelled out.

In the context of voluntary possibilities of decision (self-help, stage 1-5), there were two cases of voluntary “alternative accommodation” at the end of SPFS and five more over a period of three years after SPFS .

After SPFS there was one case in which “alternative accommodation” was enforced.

Foreign Families and Delinquency

I would like to consider this group of six families/six children (included in the figures above) according to the concept of self-help, too:



Socio-pedagogical family support: Foreign families (6 families/6 children)

Evaluation: No reliable statement value can be found here. There were no cases of enforced measures, which makes the curative value of “alternative accommodation” seem more probable. In all cases the “delinquency” was embedded in a context of crisis in the family and in life in general.

It should be noted that in many cases the youth welfare department is involved at a rather late stage.

Further Considerations: Alcohol and Drugs

A special border case in the field of juvenile delinquency is addiction.

Alcohol

16 juveniles, 14 of them male, have had experience with alcohol. seven juveniles who have had experience with alcohol also try out drugs.

Drugs

Drugs, i.e. alcohol and hashish, were suspected by two families, while such tendencies were recognised in two more families during SPFS

In the medium to long term the problem of drugs grew in five cases after SPFS, including the four cases mentioned above. Although improved solutions were achieved in the families, the context of failure in entering working life – no prospects, no apprenticeship, broken-off positions – formed the background for a further increase in drug problems. For this reason four jobless juveniles earn an income by dealing with drugs and take drugs themselves. Two other juveniles, on the other hand, manage to walk new paths by starting apprenticeships and going into “alternative accommodation”.

The juveniles shirk family ties and are just as difficult to reach for SPFS. The following family factors may be listed as risk factors for potential consumption of drugs:

- problems in the mothers' and fathers' lives (“isolation”);
- conflicts in relationships and separation/divorce of the “either/or” type, the children stay with their mothers ...;
- chaotic or perfect living situations, chronic stress or a certain level of poverty;
- long-term ambivalent, uncertain attachment experience, reinforced by the mothers' absence due to the juveniles' “fight for survival” during puberty ... lack of clarity in style of upbringing, either protecting or over-demanding or both, instead of giving realistic orientation ...;
- chronic over-demandingness which inhibits the development of independent search movements ...;
- low performance at school, failure in starting working life ... lack of perspective ... and anger ...;
- multiple offences (theft, alcohol, drugs, others).

The risk increases if fathers go away, have already gone away or are factors of insecurity (violence, addiction, lack of security for the future, etc.) in the juveniles' lives and if the absence of the father is accompanied by the mother's rejection of him and attachment to the mother is excessive yet insecure, i.e.

the children are in such cases the “darling” who then rebels against the mother (and has no father ...) and is not able or permitted to get away and substitute for the partner/world (especially in single-parent families with no brothers or sisters). Lone-wolf behaviour increases the risk considerably.

Perspective: The risk was only increased in three cases, through the existing addiction of the parents (alcohol). In the other four cases no addiction on the parents' part could be found but there were considerable communication problems.

It was difficult to recognise the risk at an earlier stage because these children appear to conform but have in fact withdrawn from communication, have gone through inner detachment early and have a particularly close, almost family-like attachment to a group of peers as their communication group.

Chances of Prevention in Cases of Addiction

If in the course of SPFS:

- appropriate communication can be developed in the family dimensions,
- detachment can be arranged/communicated together, as preparation for entry into working life, then apparently a reduction of the risk can be achieved at least temporarily.
- At least then communication with the respective juvenile can be maintained, through a certain level of familiarity with youth welfare, if he should land in a situation of crisis. Then the chances of escaping unscathed are good.

Perspective: Ideally, it is possible that SPFS helps in the long term with self-help, helping families to:

- search for solutions with self-confidence
- find confidence in cooperative self-help.

Does this mean there is a preventive solution to delinquent behaviour? The question of prevention and intervention – the million dollar question for experts.

I would prefer to attempt a cautious answer than a definitive one to the question as to whether and in what way SPFS has a preventive or interventional effect in the context of juvenile delinquency: Information is available on 31 juveniles.

Offences after SPFS

Among the 31 children and juveniles 12 cases in nine families committed further offences after SPFS, sometimes years afterwards, so that various forms of support were provided in accordance with the respective situations.

In these cases the material and relational solutions and future outlooks had come out of a crisis, stabilised temporarily, then again become uncertain and unclear.

A low level of education and corresponding resources for the future aggravated the juveniles' integration chances considerably.

"Lone wolves" had particular problems. It is typical for such types to take refuge in big plans for the unclear, frightening future or in drugs.

Perspective: It was helpful if there were attachments such as a committed mother, a father who renounced alcohol, a girlfriend, a group of peers or a future in working life. And, sometimes, SPFS in a crisis-orientated "new edition" ...

No Offences after SPFS

A further 19 children and juveniles did (apparently) not return to delinquent activities after SPFS.

In three cases the change in the focus of their lives led out of the structure of a dilemma and into possibilities of new, non-delinquent plans for their lives. Favourable factors for self-help were:

- suitable decisions by the adults for themselves and for their family lives;
- solutions which strengthened the relationships between adults as parents and children/juveniles as children/juveniles.

In each case the parents decided to do more for the family attachment and to make a meaningful orientation possible.

Perspective: Wherever family members and their social network managed to develop solutions which appeared and in fact were appropriate, juvenile delinquency as a possible form of problem organisation with an uncertain future was resolved in solutions which were fitting for the future.

Who Benefits Most from this Programme?

It is my belief that this attempted portrayal seems to indicate that children, juveniles and parents can benefit equally from this approach, in the framework of which the dimension of juvenile delinquency can also be included.

Further beneficiaries are (1) the State's youth welfare department and (2) the general community.

(1) The State's youth welfare department can reap advanced solutions on the one hand and make great financial savings on the other:

- considerable reduction of costs during SPFS;
- lower level of expenses after SPFS due to lower follow-up costs;
- even "alternative accommodation", if it has been decided on together, voluntarily, i.e. in cooperation, will probably incur reduced losses in costs and through friction, so that returns seem more likely and can be realised in a meaningful and stable form.⁴

(2) The Question of social context arises when working together with families and the subject of juvenile delinquency are in fact:

- Trust and control.
- Personal responsibility and outside responsibility.
- Meaningful and less meaningful solutions.
- Affiliation and an outlook on the future that seems achievable or uncertainty and loss of affiliation.

Perspective: Where there is a relatively low rate of delinquency – solely with regard to children and juveniles in this case – trust, personal responsibility, meaningful solution and affiliation grow even in the social context despite an adult world that these days is becoming increasingly confusing.

Here we have an initial answer to basic questions of youngsters under conditions of desorientation: "They don't know what they're here for ... so they want to have a good time."⁵

⁴ In my own experience an overall fixed rate of finance, open time contingencies and open space for development were possible. Working in accordance with the concept described allowed cooperation with six families within a year instead of just three.

⁵ Georg Stefan Troller in his documentary film "An encounter in jail" on young offenders in the USA.

Socio-pedagogical family support, the State youth welfare department and society can produce possibilities which not only seem suitable but are suitable, so that children and juveniles can satisfactorily answer their own questions:

- “Why am I here?”
- “Where do I come from and where am I going?”

Besides, this approach can, to a great extent, support families in their search for the answer to: “Why are we here?”

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3.7 Integrative Family Support - Family Support as a Possibility of Crime Prevention

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In 1995, the federal model project "Integrative Family Support" was started in the Caritas youth help foundation "Margaretenstift" in Saarbrücken. It was one of four projects sponsored by the Federal Government and expected to go new ways in socio-educational provision. The legal basis for this kind of help is §27 of the KJHG (Child and Youth Services Act). The word "integrative" suggests that any measure taken should combine residential, partly residential and non-residential forms of support. But it also signifies the integration of different professional concepts for the benefit of families in need of help. The central idea of integrative family support is family group work. Objectives of Integrative Family Support:

- to avoid children's segregation;
- to reintegrate quickly and meaningfully those who have been segregated;
- to help families to help themselves;
- to give support in everyday situations;
- to take parents seriously as partners;
- to show esteem for individual families;
- to use common experience as a basis for diagnosis and therapy;
- "successful everyday life" – to discover alternative ways of living together;
- to accept one's own family;
- to see families as members of a group: thinking in relative terms, regulating and correcting itself, giving things a meaning and developing an identity.

Families seeking integrative family support begin with a so-called residential week. A family lives together with other families in a building provided specifically for that purpose. Families each have rooms for their private use as well as common rooms they can share with other families. The group idea is emphasized from the start and even shows beforehand when the residential week is being organized. When it ends, two so-called partly residential days follow during which parents and their children can participate in group events. The partly residential phase lasts five weeks in all. Within this limited program, parents go through the six-week phase four times in half a year.

Group Work with Families

The family group is considered to be a protected entity for learning processes. Solid group structures support interrelations, and rules and norms give security. Parents experience that their family problems are not unique, they immediately see them in relative terms. The negative view they have of themselves as educators turns positive, as they get the opportunity to care for other children. They experience solidarity and perceive other parents as partners in learning. The so-called index-patient, frequently with a record of deviant behaviour and, therefore, the focus of family attention fulfilling a very important function, can often back down from this exhausting position, which gives relief. Everyday life in the family group is accompanied by rituals such as welcoming people and saying good-bye to them, common meals, fixed times for housework and, sometimes, joint leisure time activities. Families share the responsibility for shopping, preparing meals, keeping the toilets and common rooms clean. They can plan and celebrate birthdays and other festivities together. There is a fixed catalogue of rules for this purpose, one of the most important ones being that no physical or emotional violence must be done to any family member.

Group Activities Provided by Integrative Family Support

A course for parents

In the course for parents, much thought is given to parents' educational conduct. Video recordings are used to analyze patterns of interaction within the family as they show in sculpturing activities, role games etc. Parents can exchange their opinions about education and learn from other families, which is supportive and motivating. In this context, new forms of behaviour and communication can be practiced and special knowledge in developmental psychology obtained.

The self-awareness group

Here, parents have the opportunity to look more closely at topics that influence their current feelings about life. Psychotherapeutic and psychodynamic aspects can be taken into account. Topics need not be directly related to child education. For instance, one topic can be the relations parents have with one

another, or aspects of life that give parents a raw deal, or group dynamics. The self-awareness group can be organized in various ways, depending on what kind of family groups participate. For instance, couples can discuss outside the group, or the group can assume a therapeutic character. How far individual people want to get involved in a topic remains their own free choice.

The group aims to support individual participants in the way they see themselves, in the way they relate to one another, in the way they cope with topics which they feel are relevant to them and, finally, to strengthen their satisfaction with life. Even if children are not the main focus of attention, one can expect a positive influence on parents' attitudes, because satisfied parents are good parents.

The parent-child-action

Here, people working in integrative family support give families specific interaction tasks. It is important for families to negotiate and to come to terms with one another. A video recording is made of these sessions and discussed after. Destructive patterns of interaction can be recognized and alternatives tried out.

The group for children and adolescents

This group runs parallel to the adult groups. It is the only time that professionals working in integrative family support take responsibility for the children. Otherwise, it is always the parents who are responsible. The assumption here is that educational competence can only be improved if parents are, indeed, responsible. The focus in child and adolescent groups is on education. In a protected space, youngsters should be able to experience or learn social interactions. Important points here are:

- to show oneself openly the way one is,
- to learn to take responsibility for one's own actions,
- to learn to deal responsibly with other people's openness,
- to find constructive problem solutions,
- to interact openly,
- to experience limits.

Various methods are used to achieve these goals, such as games, creative design, adventure pursuits and the like. Group discussions are part of the regular program.

Video recording of families

The home-video-training is an intensive kind of family treatment. It takes place in people's homes, and videos showing interactions within the family are used to explain to parents how they can communicate successfully and obtain adequate educational skills. The main goal is to give video feedback on what parents can do to support the development of their children. Video recordings can be used:

- as a means of observing and documenting;
- as a means of analysis;
- to give feedback.

Video recordings give an impression of the range of parents' experience and contribute to a profound process of growing self-awareness and a common search for meaning. They are the basis for practicing communication modules, which eventually leads to a change of mind.

Social Networking

A very important methodological aspect of integrative family support is social networking. It is applied from the start and provides residential, partly residential and non-residential care. Non-residential care means that a person in charge of a family visits that family in their home at least once a week, so that the learning process can be tested in their everyday social environment.

An Exemplary Case

The family T.M. went through half a year of integrative family support, and we would like to show how we worked with this family who had a delinquent child. They approached us with the following requests:

- to improve the relationship of the couple;
- to support the index-patient at school, to check on his special school and to bring our influence to bear on his delinquent behaviour;
- to learn how to cope with the education of their child, jointly, as parents;
- to be able to live peacefully with their neighbours.

The family consisted of an unmarried couple with three children by birth, of whom the eldest had problems at school and was involved in thefts. They organized their lives around a very destructive neighbourhood terror, which obliged them to move house eighteen times in the last three years. Integrative Family Support with its provision for groups and its commitment to couples and

individuals worked with this family in the following manner: An initial diagnosis came to the conclusion that the couple needed exterior enemies to gain inner strength. Another topic was the mother's widowhood, which she hadn't overcome; this kept affecting the couple's relationship and did not really allow them to be close partners. The father's attempts to commit suicide were also dealt with. During the video training, the couple heard for the first time in their lives that they actually had educational authority, which built them up noticeably. Focussing on family resources, this couple experienced for the first time that they had skills which could be cultivated. Discussions showed that, whenever the delinquency of the index-patient was talked about, the father smiled, implicitly accepting the delinquent behaviour which, as became clear, had a positive effect on the family. We followed that line in our work: the couple had partnership problems, and whenever the boy's deviant behaviour was particularly strong, his parents' worries about him would bring them closer together. The boy could be relieved of this burden, when we started counselling his parents. The children were looked after in the child and adolescent groups and experienced positive peer relationships there. Along with therapy and educational work, there was social networking which dealt with the following topics:

- The family's financial situation was looked into; they were heavily in debt, and some of these debts could be settled.
- Their housing situation was clarified; when they moved to a new place, they were accompanied and supported; new patterns of interaction with neighbours were developed.
- We cooperated with the social services department to help them with their money problems.
- We supported the father in finding a job.

When the project ended, the family had achieved the following things: the father had found a job; so had the mother who, until then, had appeared to be in a depressive mood. The children went to clubs and got help with their homework in the nearby parish. The couple could go out again. They were released from a tax debt of about DM 10 000, so they could make an unencumbered fresh start. As for the delinquent index-patient, his parents put him in a boarding school where he completed a vocational training course. All this meant that the parents were able to release the boy from his important function within the family and concentrate on their own relationship.

In this way, the efforts of Integrative Family Support disentangled the levels of the couple, the parents and the children more distinctly, and a higher degree of lucidity and quality of life were achieved.

3.8 Early Preventive Action in a District of Strasbourg

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District Typology

The population

Some figures with regard to the district of Cronenbourg (INSEE RGP 82/90) These figures are approximately the same for 97/98.

Cronenbourg has more than 20,000 inhabitants, more than half of which live in the CITÉ NUCLÉAIRE (a housing project with several blocks of highrises).

The housing project

12,000 residents live there. The development consists mainly of social housing managed by CUS-Habitat (a social lessor); 75% of inhabitants live in HLM apartments (low-rent housing). There are practically no detached houses. Only 8.5% of the inhabitants own their homes.

People are very mobile. But this mobility does not improve the social mix-up. In fact, residents try to leave the housing project as soon as they can, even though a large part of the HLM grounds have been given a successful facelift. It is difficult for CUS-Habitat to attract new tenants. Because of the lack of applicants, the flats are finally assigned to families with significant social problems. This is due to the concrete problems that residents of the housing project have to struggle with, but also, to a large extent, to the reputation the project has obtained through all kinds of rumours and the media, resulting in wild exaggerations about insecurity.

Residents are very young. In 1990, 30% were under the age of 15, 20% aged 15 to 24, 21% aged 25 to 39, 21% aged 40 to 59, and only 8% older than 60. Due to the mobility of residents, their average age has not increased since then. Foreigners represented 30% of the population in 1990. Immigrants of the first and second generation make up about 70% of residents in the Cité Nucléaire. About forty nationalities live there. Single-parent families are on the rise.

There are a lot of unemployed people in this neighbourhood and people who have never worked at all. Unemployment among young people is particu-

larly high and growing from one year to another. For them, the unemployment rate is higher than average.

In 1997, more than 500 people under 25 in the housing project benefitted from minimum financial support by the government.

The socio-professional standard was modest: in 1990, 47% of inhabitants had never worked, 31% were blue-collar and white-collar employees, 7% had middle-range incomes and 11% were old-age pensioners. The liberal professions and senior management hardly existed at all.

Illiteracy in the housing project runs strong. For several years, more than 60 women of different origins have been participating in an integration program concerned with reading and writing at the socio-cultural centre of Cronenbourg. The waiting list for this program is growing constantly. The goal is to give the women a chance to manage their lives more effectively, to use public transportation, go into town, go shopping, to help some of them find work, but most of them to make first steps in a training process that might lead to a job. We can only guess how many women feel incapable or are, in fact, incapable of getting involved in the program.

The Social Sector

Associations

A demographic, social and economic situation of this kind obviously generates neighbourhood problems and difficulties.

Consequently, the authorities have made efforts to support social initiatives in the community.

In spite of a large number of associations, however, community life has been strongly handicapped, because of a lack of financial means and voluntary helpers in the housing project. Community activities there are often sustained by people from outside.

The (national) education support service (ZEP) operates in high-priority areas within schools and outside school hours. It has created a very active sports club. The main associations, apart from ZEP, reaching out to young people are the socio-cultural centre with its department for children and adolescents and the organization for specialized prevention, contact and promotion. There aren't many sports organizations (the judo club CSC, the Cronenbourg soccer club FCK...), but most young people in the housing project practice one kind of sport or another, nevertheless.

The most active associations in the housing project are the following: SOS Cronenbourg, resident support, legal counselling. APFS, Contact and Promotion, meeting place for families and children, student support, AJC

young people's club of Cronenbourg, the socio-cultural centre, ZEP, and a support service for women of all origins.

The cooperation among associations works out fairly well. Most of them belong to the socio-cultural centre, which plays the role of keeping them all together.

Public Services

Public services function, in spite of all difficulties, and are available throughout the development. Difficulties to keep them up vary, depending on the service involved. Buses run until 11:30 p.m. inspite of repeated incidents (throwing stones, breaking bus shelters...)

The socio-cultural centre offers a number of services (children's day care, meals at school....)

The socio-medical centre also offers services (municipal field helpers, social services...) During March 1997, a regular employment service was opened for adults over 25 years of age who were in trouble.

There is a police station, a post office. A medical centre dealing with general medicine and the most common specializations has been established in the housing project.

There are several stores and a small shopping mall. Businesses have had a lot of problems resulting from attacks on them. Often, shopowners arrived in the housing project in the late 1960s; when they give up their businesses, it is difficult to find successors.

On the other hand, services that would be very useful to the neighbourhood do not exist: e.g. the office for family allowances (CAF) and the national employment office (ANPE)

A government-run program to integrate young people under 25 plays a major role by looking after their job needs, but its financial means are not sufficient. The housing project includes:

- a socio-medical centre
- a small shopping centre diminishing in size year by year
- a so-called "MUTANT"(mall)
- a wholesale bakery
- a branch of the municipal library
- a socio-cultural centre (with child day care and school meals)
- a meeting place for parents and children
- a local government authority (CRENO)
- a police station
- a market (twice weekly)
- a vocational school (ZEP)

- three nursery schools (ZEP)
- three primary schools (ZEP)
- parishes, a mosque, a synagogue
- a regular service for job-seeking adults
- a local government outpost for young job-seekers.

Generally speaking, the housing project is a difficult neighbourhood. Many families wish to leave.

Tasks of the Socio-Cultural Centre

Tasks and their realization in the housing project

The activities of the socio-cultural centre are part of a general effort to liven up the neighbourhood for everybody, but in particular for those people who are culturally, socially and economically the most underprivileged.

These activities find expression in seven areas that symbolize the principles of development in all socio-cultural centres.

All activities are part of a procedure that encourages residents to participate actively in neighbourhoods where centres are established:

- A reception area
- A project development area
- An area for social gatherings and mutual help
- An activity area
- A service area
- A vocational training and education area
- An area for group achievements.

Every three years, the socio-cultural centre works out a social project which it submits to the CAF. This project is in line with the orientations defined by the administrative council (CA). They are the following:

- to meet with residents;
- to prepare activities based on tolerance;
- to involve different generations in discussions including the problem of violence;
- to overcome barriers of segregation and stigmatization
- to promote educational activities.

These orientations turn around a fourfold approach that can be found in all of the centre's projects:

- taking into account the social problems of residents
- encouraging resident participation
- promoting dialogue, communication, listening, sociability
- promoting partnership.

Some important programs that have been put into practice by/with/for the inhabitants of Cronenbourg:

- Open Windows on Black Africa
- Integration through literacy programs
- Infancy week
- Getting out and about to experience new things
- Leisure time centre reaching out to very young street children: in schools during after-school hours

From the start, they are involved in the development of the project, and as often as possible, they initiate the project themselves. In such cases, the socio-cultural centre only gives its support.

Personnel

The socio-cultural centre of Cronenbourg employs about one hundred people, which corresponds to 40 full-time positions.

The centre is divided into several departments:

- A children's day care facility (service provided by the municipality) that can take in 20 children aged 3 months to six years.
- A department for children including:
 - 1 a traditional leisure time centre without accommodation (50 to 60 children on average);
 - 2 a leisure time centre reaching out to children around the highrises: without accommodation (between 80 and 150 children);
 - 3 a meeting place in the evening after school (about 100 children);
 - 4 a school meal service (provided by the municipality) serving 150 meals per day of class).
- A department for adolescents (4 p.m. to 9 p. m.) admitting more than 100 young people between the ages of 12 and 25.

- A home economics and family department offering traditional activities such as sewing, cooking and more specific activities for especially targeted groups with big problems, i.e. starting-out help, integration through literacy (more than 60 women), debt and health counselling....
- A department for general activities in charge of:
 - 1 working out projects together with residents and local organizations;
 - 2 offering socio-educational activities (judo, art and crafts, gymnastics....),
 - 3 ensuring contacts to other organizations in the housing project.
- A retreat for old-age pensioners to be used as a club twice a week, as well as an orthopaedic gymnastics court.
- A public kitchen providing a lunch-time meal for adult members of the centre in addition to school meals (an average of 200 meals a day).
- A team of prevention specialists responsible for:
 - 1 street contacts;
 - 2 individual care in a receptive environment;
 - 3 supporting young people with school/health/family problems and/or looking for a job etc.

Financing

The activities of the socio-cultural centre are financed by the municipality of Strasbourg, the local council, the office for family allowances (CAF) – on approval of a three-year project submitted to the office for family allowances.

For certain projects, additional financing is requested from the government (a contract involving the city at 50% and the government at 50%), from the FAS, the DRDJS (Ville Vie Vacances) and the DRAC...:

- Resident participation
- Concerted and innovative social programs
- Facilities available to all parties
- Comprehensive activities planning

The Concept of Early Prevention

Attempt of a definition

The principle of early prevention is to engage in activities that can prevent any kind of deviant behaviour: aggressiveness, breaking with the school system, uncivil attitudes.

To achieve this, we try to communicate values and points of reference particularly to those young people who are likely to cross the line, often enough without being aware of doing so.

“Early prevention” is to be taken in the sense of “before anything happens” and does not refer to very young people, even though often they are, indeed, just that.

Early prevention concerns all young men and women who, at one moment or another, fail to keep within the norm.

We are very concerned about the problem of juvenile delinquency. We have observed that adolescents who commit offences are getting younger and younger. Eight-year-old children are affected.

It should be noted that laws in France foresee no punishment for less than 16-year-olds who commit offences.

We, therefore, run programs that, as often as possible, involve the young people concerned, as well as their families.

For example: street work for children aged 4 to 14 who are often left alone all day in front of the buildings they live in.

A meeting place for 12- to 18-year-olds every evening from 4 p.m. to 9 p. m. As often as possible, we provide activities here, e.g. discussion nights to which family is invited.

The family holds an important place for us in our struggle against juvenile delinquency. We believe that the family unit, and most of all fathers, must be given their former significance again.

The “Open Window on the Maghreb” Program

In our understanding, this program does a lot to prevent juvenile delinquency. It is part of what we call early preventive action.

The “Window on the Maghreb” program lasted an entire week and aimed to make other people in the housing project familiar with the countries of North-West Africa, following an ambitious agenda of exhibitions, discussions, traditional costume shows, meals, evening parties and a grand closing celebration.

To put this agenda together, there were regular meetings with many residents and a variety of organizations in the housing project.

The residents and organizations each took responsibility for one aspect of the program. The socio-cultural centre did the coordination and took the necessary administrative steps.

For example: women got together to prepare a meal, one association staged a play together with adolescents, young people organized a fashion parade, singing and dancing.

More than a thousand people took part in the program. Preparing the festival was one of the most important parts of the program for us. In fact, it has always been our idea that the residents and associations of the housing project should organize the week's activities themselves. And this is exactly what happened, over a period of several months.

Evaluation

Effects on the public

This kind of event has an enormous impact on the planning of early prevention and thus contributes to the struggle against juvenile delinquency. Young people, regardless of their origin, showed a great deal of respect. The exhibitions were not disparaged, the meetings and discussions allowed younger and older people to associate with one another. Young people also wanted to enhance the image of their group in the eyes of other residents of the housing project. The status of parents was enhanced in the eyes of their children, a feeling of pride spread out. In a nutshell: the status of families who participated was enhanced. The image of the socio-cultural centre improved in the eyes of young people who realized that they and their families were welcome there any time.

Limits of the program

We have no pretensions to be able to reach every community in the housing project, nor every individual of any one community. This kind of program is limited in time and, gradually, bad habits reappear.

3.9 Young People's Perspectives on Youth Justice in Manchester

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Introduction

It at first seems unusual to be addressing a conference between Dutch and German academics, practitioners and policy makers with a paper about a local district of a provincial city in England. However, I believe an investigation of the local will have a pertinence to people working within local communities across Europe. I also aim to raise more supra-national and structural issues concerning the direction of European society in general.

This paper seeks to discuss the reduction in juvenile crime by arguing for a re-appraisal of our attitudes to areas within our cities that have become notorious for high crime. The logic of my argument states that a taboo against particular areas discriminates against everyone who lives there, whether they have committed a crime or not. The article draws on work undertaken in the area of Moss Side in inner city Manchester between 1995 and 1997, the main results of the study is discussed at length elsewhere¹. The research centred on a number of youth projects, including a youth justice centre, young people attending a probation centre and four local high schools. Some local projects and initiatives exist for reducing juvenile crime but these are mostly reactive and fragmentary and make little impact on the more structural problems I wish to discuss. I would rather concentrate on illustrating the ways in which inner city young people are discriminated against in training programmes and employment. This discrimination results in a closing of legitimate means of making a living and entices young people to become involved in crime.

A Broad Description of Moss Side

Moss Side is an area of inner city Manchester which is the largest urban conurbation in the North West of England. The proportion of owner-occupied households in the area (28.6%) was significantly lower than the City figure of 41.2%. The 1991 Census information indicated that at the beginning of the

¹ Steve Kenny and Tom Cockburn (1997) The Moss Side Youth Audit: Final Report.

decade the Moss Side area contained 20,867 people and young people aged 16 - 24 constituted 17.4% of them. The comparable figure for the City was 14.4%. Altogether there were 5,280 people aged 10 - 24 in the Moss Side area. This represents a much higher than average young population in what is a comparatively "young" city relative to the rest of the United Kingdom. Interestingly, young women aged 16 - 29 years outnumbered young men in the area by a ratio of 100 females to 73 males and 17.4% of these young women were lone parents with children aged 0 - 15 years; again much higher than the City average of 12.7%.

Of these young people in Moss Side 35% of the young people aged 16 - 29 in the area fell into one of the black or other ethnic minority groups, used by Manchester City Council in the gathering of census information. This represents a much higher percentage than the City average of 14.8%. A further breakdown of census statistics reveals that young people of Afro-Caribbean origin (aged 16 -29 years) constituted 22.5% of the total young people resident in the area; the City average being 5.6%. This sizeable population of Afro-Caribbean young people in the area is reflected in the number of Afro-Caribbean practitioners employed to work in the youth services in the area. The second largest ethnic minority group was that of young Asian people of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin who represented 6.6% of the young population of the area. Many of the Asian families in Moss Side reside in the older eastern end of Moss Side and enjoy the proximity to Rusholme which is a commercial centre for the Asian communities in Manchester.

Economic activity rates for 16 - 29 year olds were lower in the Moss Side area than Manchester or Greater Manchester and significantly lower than in the U.K. as a whole. In 1991 the male youth (16 -19 year olds) unemployment rate was 52.4% and the female rate was 40.1% compared to the Manchester rate of 36% and the Greater Manchester rate of 30.8% respectively. Recent Divisional Crime statistics published by the Greater Manchester Police indicate that levels of crime and drug related incidents are higher in the area than in other areas of the city.²

Crime and Youth Justice

Moss Side has received a large amount of coverage in the media for the crime in the area. These reports are nearly always greatly exaggerated and contribute to the negative image of the area. However, this is not to suggest that crime is not a real problem for many Moss Side people in their daily lives.

² Greater Manchester Police (1996) Crime Figures.

Young people in particular are affected by the crime in the area. Not only because of some young people's involvement in crime but also that they are one of the highest recipients, or victims, of criminal acts. Recent studies³ show that 12-20 year-olds, are most prone to assaults and harassment and 12-15 year-olds the most susceptible to theft. Home Office surveys⁴ also indicate that young people are less likely to report criminal acts on themselves, or even to identify those acts as being criminal. This reluctance to report crime perhaps reflects young people's broader position in society as not being in a position to be heard or taken seriously.

Young people as victims of crime are also reflected in local crime surveys.⁵ Although a lot of young people did not define themselves as the victims of crime compared with other ages, this is likely to be due to young people's propensity not to see criminal acts on themselves as being criminal acts. However, most under-25 year olds on the Alexander Park Estate (62.6%) reported experience of crime in one form or another.

Moss Side in common with nearly every inner city working class area in Britain, has an alternative economy which has thrived over the last fifteen years. The proximity of the alternative market to the lives of many young people in Moss Side inevitably raised the possibility of some young people drifting into "market trading", handling stolen goods (mostly videos; car radios and bicycles) and possibly into dealing in drugs. A number of the young people encountered during the research reported minor involvement within this alternative economy.

For many of the young workers in Moss Side who work in this "twilight" economy, their working lives are characterised by unregulated working conditions, cash in hand low pay, no holiday or sickness pay. They may get away without paying national insurance contributions, which may save money in the short term, but are not able to build up sufficient contributions for benefits later in life, such as old age pensions. In short, many young people's working lives are starting out in work that is separate from mainstream society. For many young people there is little choice about this.

Living in Moss Side

³ For instance Home Office Research and Planning Unit (1995) *Young People, Victimisation and the Police*.

⁴ *ibidem*

⁵ Moss Side and Hulme Community Forum (1994) 'Not Good Enough': A Survey of Policing, Crime and Community Safety on Moss Side' Alexandra Park Estate.

From the research there was an enormous sense of pessimism felt by some young people about the image of the Moss Side area. While training and access to Further Education were generally the institutions which the young people believed to be least discriminatory, a high proportion of them still believed that coming from Moss Side adversely affected their life chances in these fields.

There was a general belief that the negative stereotypical image of Moss Side was generated and reinforced by people from outside the area. This was what angered so many of the young people that we spoke to or interviewed.

Some Asian High School girls declared that many Further education institutions:

“Don’t even know the area, yet they think they can tell us what it is all about. The trouble is that they assume that everybody is the same – and we are not”
“One of our teachers referred to ‘the Moss Side gunners’ the other day. We were really angry – we come from Moss Side and we’re not gunners.”

Similar views were expressed by older as 20 year old Afro-Caribbean woman from a youth project:

“Everyone thinks of Moss Side as being about gun running, gangs and drug dealing. It’s the media who give it a bad name, and people who don’t live here are so ignorant that they believe everything they read. Some it may be true, but not for the ordinary people who live here. It’s a disgrace.”

Other Afro-Caribbean women commented:

“Yes, I think the image of Moss Side affects everyone who lives here and affects every bit of your life. When people know you come from Moss Side, they start out with a negative image of you.”

“I think when they know you have a Moss Side address, they expect trouble. They start out being suspicious – so they don’t give you the same chances in training or they expect less from you in education.”

Many of these young women felt angry, but also felt a determination to defy the stereotypical image – to prove people wrong. They wished to dissociate from the negative “glamour” of the image and were scornful about the tendency of some young men in the area to play the “hard image”.

A group of young white men at a training scheme agreed that young people were disadvantaged coming from a Moss Side address; most citing the drug taking and criminal stereotype of the young Moss Side resident. One young man stated:

“When people see you, they think you’re bad because of the clothes you wear and the way you speak – then they find out you are from Moss Side and that’s it!”

A young white man who attended a drug rehabilitation project shared this pessimistic view:

“Yes, always putting Moss Side down. Not enough support – no one really wants to support anyone who lives in Moss Side. Most people who live outside the area seem to think that people from Moss Side are a waste of time. They do not really want to treat Moss Side people as individuals.”

A group of young Afro-Caribbean people appeared unequivocal in their despair about the area:

“People from Moss Side will always be prejudiced against. The people in control do not see us as potential. They think we are lazy spongers who don’t deserve a chance. They believe that in order to accommodate us they will have to drop or lower standards. Our post code betrays us so that expectations of us are low and opportunities are rare.”

“People think we are too laid back, lazy and uncommitted. They do not think we are willing to learn so training opportunities are not considered suitable.”

Some black people actually believe the stereotypes and undersell themselves. They start behaving in ways they are expected to.

The majority of young people in the area felt disadvantaged in relation to their access to training. Yet an even larger proportion felt disadvantaged concerning employment. Only about 1 in 5 young people in a High School survey of 540 young people felt that the negative images of Moss Side did not affect their opportunities in relation to employment.

The school survey findings were mirrored in the views as expressed by the young people from the other project sites. One Afro-Caribbean young man answered with a degree of bitterness that:

“They (employers) don’t really want people from Moss Side in jobs elsewhere in the City – they want us kept here. They don’t want us to progress.”

Another young man, one of the very few in the Audit who described himself as “mixed race”, argued that potential employers: “Look down on people from Moss Side when they apply for employment.”

It seemed that some of the young people believed that if they applied for a job in writing and gave a Moss Side address, they were unlikely to even hear back. A young man said:

“Everyone knows that if you apply for a job from a Moss Side address, then you will not even get confirmation (of having received the application).”

A young woman encapsulated the sense of injustice that many other young people expressed when she told me:

“People think Moss Side is a dangerous place and is a no-go area, but Moss Side is as safe as Chorlton or lots of the other respectable surrounding areas like Fallowfield or Rusholme. Recently the posher areas are becoming worse by the day. It’s a few who have given it such a bad name, but we are not all like that. It’s so unfair when people make judgements about all the people who live there.”

The connections that are made between Moss Side and violent crime were felt to be the biggest deterrent for potential employers. The young people were sure that having a Moss Side address immediately led potential employers to be wary in case the young person was a trouble maker or aggressive. A young Afro-Caribbean woman explained:

“Because they think you’re from Moss Side you are a gangster and you are classed as a violent person.”

A young man added:

“Yes it does. Everyone gets classed the same – whether you’ve been in trouble or not. Just mention Moss Side – you can forget it!”

Another argued that whenever he went for an interview for a job they took one look at him and made up their mind. He stated that:

“When employers see you as a skinhead and from Moss Side. You know its bad news.”

A number of answers to the question about the taboo of a Moss Side address were complicated by the fact that many of the young black respondents were unclear about whether it was Moss Side as an area, or the fact that so many black people lived in Moss Side and thus racism which led to discrimination in employment. One Afro-Caribbean young woman commented:

“People can’t get jobs for racism anyway – so I don’t know if it’s about Moss Side or your colour.”

However discrimination was not just felt or experienced by young black people, one young white woman argued:

"They aren't going to say that if you come from Moss Side you can't work here, but I think they are wary and some people are funny giving people from Moss Side a job, because it has such a bad image."

For some young people, the situation had led to a defiance and determination, whilst at the same time an acute sense of injustice and in some cases resentment. A young woman declared:

"Coming from Moss Side, you have to work, or even prove yourself, twice as hard as anyone else. We cannot be ourselves. We have to dress, talk and act differently to be accepted."

Some of the older respondents displayed a depressing degree of acceptance that the negative image of Moss Side would prejudice young peoples' chances. A young woman stated:

"I know it does. My family in the U.S.A. have shootings regularly, but they are scared to come and visit us in Moss Side. If they feel like that living so far away, why should local businesses think anything else."

A number of the other older respondents in their mid 20s, even those who said that they personally felt very positive about living in the area, admitted to giving their address as outside Moss Side when looking for work:

"When people hear you are from Moss Side they tend to think 'Oh a rough area!' and that often distracts them from the real you. I always give my mother's address in Chorlton."

"I don't want to lie, but its the only way of making businesses give you an opportunity to prove yourself."

"I give friends or relatives addresses when I apply for jobs."

A young man from a Youth Justice centre told us that he believed that employers were sceptical about employees' honesty if they came from Moss Side. He felt that he had been discriminated against when he had been employed on the basis of his qualifications, but that the employer had discovered that he lived in Moss Side and then had insisted upon further training:

“Yes due to past experience, I have found that the right qualification for a job I was going for, yet when I was taken on and then they found out that I was from Moss Side I was told that I had to have further training – like they didn’t believe me.”

These kind of negative experiences had influenced young peoples feelings about seeking work:

“I remember going to an interview not long after I left college and when I said I lived in Moss Side, I could tell by the expression on his face that I wouldn’t get the job. He didn’t know that I had lived in Chorlton most of my life and I had only recently moved to Moss Side with a friend, but it should not have made any difference anyway. I remember thinking in the interview ‘I am not getting this job’ and since that experience I’ve found that I hate going to interviews.”

This negative image is clearly more than media stereotyping. People who live in Moss Side are sceptical about whether it will ever change. They see the image of Moss Side as a major problem, but they also believe that the factors which have contributed to the creation of this image are still prevalent and will continue to remain despite new housing; money spent on facilities etc. In effect what they are identifying is the way in which the infrastructure of Moss Side has resulted in the development of a culture of violence and despair – which while lived out by some young people in the area is mainly fed by criminal interests which are attracted to the area on the basis of the areas reputation. There seems to be a belief that in some ways the negative images and stereotypes of Moss Side are in part self-fulfilling.

Re-thinking Cities

How as practitioners and academics do we react to the voices of young Moss Siders? There is clear evidence that local young people miss employment and training opportunities in Manchester. The district has recently benefited from considerable inner-city regeneration money from local, national and European governments. However despite this large expenditure Moss Side young people remain discriminated against. This discrimination in turn compounds the vicious circle young people find themselves in where illegitimate means seem the only opportunity to retain the increasing pressures of consumption experienced by modern youth.

Over the last ten years the dealing of drugs has been a “boom industry” in Moss Side. There are many reasons why this has occurred in the way it has;

perhaps not least of all to do with unofficial policing policies operating in the area. Whatever the reasons the effects on the neighbourhood and the particular implications for young people who live in the area have been enormous. The illegal drug industry has inevitably drawn a number of young people, notably young men, into its arena. Sadly many of these young men began their involvement as users and now play their part in sustaining the industry through the need to feed an established habit. Other young people, have recognised the quick financial returns which can bring them the more "comfortable" lifestyle blocked when pursuing other legitimate avenues. It seems clear to me that the image now associated with this particular lifestyle feeds the fantasies of a number of young men in Moss Side whether they are directly involved in the "industry" or not. It sadly represents an image of an apparently flourishing alternative economy for young people who are often struggling to make a success of their lives and make a decent living which will enable them to enjoy some of the material benefits which they see so widely portrayed through the media. It is perhaps hardly surprising that young men with high expectations who are deeply disillusioned with traditional definitions of achievement and success, which are often unattainable, will be tempted to become involved in such a scene. Nor is it surprising that the majority of young people who are not actively involved in this scene, will feel dismay and resentment when they encounter prejudice and are stigmatised as being a part of an area which is often characterised in the media as being about drug dealers or gun toting gangsters.

The problem of Moss Side's image lies beyond a media construction and is part of an overall problem with in-migrant people. The settlements of Black people in Britain has been associated with particular spatial localities. In addition to Manchester's Moss Side there are Handsworth (Birmingham), Brixton (London), Chapeltown (Leeds) and Toxteth (Liverpool) all that signify not merely dispersed Black settlement but also traces of harassment, local politics, recreational routes, assertion and cultural expressivity. The localities of Black politics and culture within these areas have enormous consequences on 'White Society' or 'Multicultural Britain'. The migration of African, Afro-Caribbean and Asian people in Britain does not inevitably 'produce' racism but rather gives racism a focus. Thus the iconographies of Moss Side as a site of drugs, guns, violence and danger becomes a metaphor of Black settlement as interpreted by white people. Given the weight of these expectations it is small wonder that Moss Side people, but particularly young Black men, perceive discrimination by 'white outsiders' whether employers, college tutors or police officers.

In conclusion, this conference has outlined a number of important projects across Europe working with young people from ethnic communities to reduce their offending. The lesson from the local situation in Manchester suggests that

we should perhaps also be looking at ourselves as white academics and practitioners and seek to challenge our own assumptions and biases about the communities where we are working.

3.10 Summary

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In this Workshop, we focused on projects concerning juvenile delinquency:

- under the conditions of social and family deprivation
- in its social-ecological context (mainly urban low status neighbourhood)
- and with respect to the ethnicity or minority status of young people.

The contributions revealed some similar problems experienced by the participating countries:

1. The presentations of projects showed that the social-pedagogic projects start too late – mostly when we are already aware of serious problems, when we are faced with severe disorders.

The workshop members agreed that more emphasis should be laid on early primary prevention. More research should be done on detecting risk factors for juvenile delinquency – and then this knowledge should be applied in the design of preventive measures.

2. The projects presented in the workshop showed the necessity of understanding ethnic minorities with their different cultural and religious backgrounds and value systems. And to respect these cultural and religious differences in our strategies.

In my impression the projects presented by the colleagues of The Netherlands are respecting these ethnic differences more than we do it in Germany. Perhaps, this may be due to the two countries' differences in immigration policy and their respectively different efforts towards social integration of immigrants.

There have also been some striking differences between our countries:

3. In comparing the large public institutions in The Netherlands and Germany (like youth office, police, employment office) we noticed that their cooperation practice and their ability to execute joint ventures is vastly different: In The Netherlands, joint ventures of several institutions are far more developed than in Germany, where separate acting is predominant. Among other reasons, this may be explained by the community-based orientations of Dutch institutions.

4. Another reason can be seen in the two countries' different legislation: for instance, the "principle of legality" forces the German police to prosecute each offence. Therefore, they have only very few possibilities for cooperation with youth services.

In The Netherlands the prosecutor (comparable to the German "Staatsanwalt") has the power to stop police-investigations at a very early stage, and to order cooperation with the youth services. On the other hand, such procedures also allocate more behavioural options to the police.

4 Juvenile Delinquency: Reactions to Criminal Acts of Youngsters and Possibilities of Preventing Recidivism

4.1 Reactions to Criminal Acts: How to Prevent Criminal Behaviour and Recidivism – an Introduction

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The main question this work group discussed was how to respond to criminal acts of young people. When young people are caught in a criminal act, the authorities must respond, the issue being how to respond creatively, so that another criminal act, i.e. recidivism, can be prevented. This means putting education in the foreground rather than retaliation and punishment. This approach is reflected in German and Dutch penal law for young offenders (though it has been toned down since 1995). The Juvenile Court Act in Germany and the Criminal Code in the Netherlands define the scope of possible reactions to criminal offences committed by young people. Important differences that discussions may want to consider have been explained in the contribution: "The Differences between Dutch and German Youth Criminal Law" by Claudio Morelli and Annemieke Wolthuis.

What can be done to prevent recidivism? In Germany and the Netherlands, there are many projects and concepts that both the courts and youth welfare services are involved in. But a different approach to crime prevention has been developed in both countries, since the penal law systems and youth welfare structures are also different. Interesting and successful concepts have been presented, both countries encouraging each other to develop and improve their practical efforts. This is possible, because the social backgrounds and problem definitions are quite similar. Practical experience and crime-preventive

concepts should be shared, thus initiating a learning process on both sides that might lead to strategy changes and new projects.

Projects were selected if their methods and concepts did not exist in the other country. The offender-victim-mediation concept is well-known in Germany, but has no counterpart in the penal law system of the Netherlands. On the other hand, the support offices that exist throughout the Netherlands are hardly known in Germany. The intensive temporary field support of delinquent children and adolescents in Den Haag (in so-called T-teams) is going new ways with a target group that cannot be suitably accommodated by German youth welfare services. New methods are being investigated. Since a "one-to-one-transfer" between the different youth welfare and judicial systems is not possible, the question arises just how ideas and methods of one system can be adapted to the other. It was the "Institut für soziale Praxis" in Hamburg that introduced the project of transferring, implementing and adapting the Dutch method of intensive field support to the German youth welfare system. At a practical level, this project anticipated and tested in an exemplary way what our work group is also trying to achieve.

4.2 The Differences between German and Dutch Youth Criminal Law

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1 Differences in Scope

Criminal responsibility according to Dutch law starts as early as age 12, whilst in Germany criminal prosecution only starts at the age of 14. Civil court orders on children of criminal responsibility age can be made in both legal systems.

German youth criminal law stipulates that it first must be established separately whether a young person is mature enough to be called to criminal account. There is no equivalent in Dutch youth criminal law to this particular criterion as to the degree of judicial maturity. This difference is hardly relevant in practice, because in Germany criminal responsibility is also nearly always established.

In the Netherlands general criminal law can be applied to 16 and 17 year olds. Apart from grounds associated with the offender's character and the circumstances of the offence, the severity of the offence can also warrant application of the penal code.

German law is different here. On the one hand, youth criminal law has to be applied to this age group. Moreover, youth criminal law is also applied to young adults, regardless of the severity of crime. Especially in cases of robbery, rape or manslaughter by 18 to 20 year olds, youth criminal law would almost exclusively be applied. In any case, despite similar legislation, practice relating to youth criminal jurisdiction on 18 to 20 year olds appears to be totally different. Whilst in Germany youth criminal law would predominantly be applied to this age group, in the Netherlands they would nearly always be dealt with according to general criminal law.

In comparative evaluation nevertheless it should be taken into consideration that the German youth criminal justice system allows for much higher custodial sentences. In the Netherlands there is a need to apply general criminal law and tougher punishment to severe offences, based on the same grounds.

According to Dutch law a juvenile sentence may be converted into punishment under adult law if the offender has reached the age of 18. The nature of the punishment will then be reassessed. Options are, apart from custodial

sentences, community service or fines. Such a conversion of juvenile sentences is not known in German youth criminal justice. Juvenile sentences are also imposed for over-18s. But even when the perpetrator is transferred to an adult detention center the juvenile sentence will continue to be executed.

2 Differences in Sentencing

The Dutch youth judge has wide discretion in selecting type and severity of sentences. Dutch youth criminal law has no concepts such as 'harmful inclination' or 'prompted by the act'. Neither are the different kinds of sentences graded as is the case under JGG. The judge decides after taking into account offender's character and the nature of the offence whether to impose alternative sentences, fines or juvenile sentences.

Contrarily, German youth criminal law provides the youth judge with a wider scope for applying specific sanctions for less serious offences. The youth judge may impose one of the many court orders from those listed under JGG ch. 10 (such as prohibiting contact with certain persons, prohibiting access to certain establishments, road safety training, starting schooling or work) or design an appropriate court order him/herself.

The Dutch youth justice system has only community service and social skills training as comparable alternatives. For that matter, under civil law the youth judge can place the young person in a child care institution if s/he thinks it necessary.

It is very much worth mentioning that the German victim-offender redress system has acquired ever greater relevance over recent years. This form of direct communication between offender and victim is not conducted in the Netherlands. Young people are taught the consequences of their offence for the victim through only role play and discussion within learning projects.

Alternative sentencing is practised in the Netherlands only when the young person consents or proposes such him/herself. This element of voluntary input is unfamiliar to German youth criminal law. Court orders and assignments can be imposed without the young person's consent and enforced under threat of youth custody.

A great difference lies in the duration of juvenile sentences available. In the Netherlands up to a maximum of two years of imprisonment can be imposed, and only one year to under-16s. In Germany the maximum amount is ten years for a juvenile sentence. But in the Netherlands general criminal law can be applied to 16 and 17 year olds if the severity of crime is judged to require a higher custodial sentence. For young offenders there is no such option. Under strict conditions placement into child care institutions can only be ordered for a maximum of up to six years.

Suspended sentences and conditional sentences can be imposed under less strict conditions and at any desirable moment. Moreover fines and placements can also be suspended.

3 Differences in Criminal Prosecution

In the Netherlands a wider range of opportunities for alteration is available as compared to Germany. But this also derives from the opportunity principle predominant in the Netherlands which does not oblige penal bodies to prosecution. In the Netherlands police already have the discretion to dispense with penal prosecution for crimes of a petty nature. For instance, police may caution the young person, instigate a formal discussion with the parents or cancel the case without further steps being taken.

In the Netherlands this alteration can be at the behest of the police themselves when they refer the young person – provided that s/he consents – to a HALT project in which s/he then will follow a programme for a maximum of up to 20 hours. After completion of the programme, the police assess its success and may then instigate prosecution. This form of alteration is not allowed under German law, although the first steps towards informal serving of sentences are being put forward at present. But only the public prosecutor and the youth judge have the power to stop proceedings. Sound cooperation between police and youth court services in ensuring rapid introduction and implementation of upbringing-related measures means that notice to suspend prosecution is often a formality.

Children of criminal responsibility age in the Netherlands may also participate in a HALT programme. Parental consent is required.

The guidelines for varying the basis of sentencing available within each federal state correspond in content to the range of offences dealt with through HALT projects. In the Netherlands a nation-wide regulation is involved, ensuring that in all 64 HALT offices similar alternative sentences are available responding to a given offence. In Germany the guidelines, but also alteration practice within each federal state, show some major differences (for instance as to the level of compensation appropriate for theft or as to the permitted level of possession of drugs).

In the Netherlands the public prosecutor also has a wide discretion to annul punishments.

For instance s/he can stop proceedings in return for payment of a fine in case of certain types of theft.

4 Differences in Proceedings

Lay judges do not feature in Dutch law; and neither does the mechanism, enshrined in German law, designed to accelerate proceedings.

In court young people are without exception provided with legal representation. The option of altering the proceedings exists only in Germany. It can be decided to hold proceedings so that formal conviction and thus the negative effects on the young person can be avoided.

4.3 Victim-Offender Mediation

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1 A Short History of Victim-Offender Mediation in Germany

Two important aspects have favoured the development of victim-offender mediation. First of all, the fact that victims of criminal offences are discriminated against should be mentioned. Whoever becomes a victim of a criminal offence in Germany has to reckon with a variety of negative consequences. Thus, the police, when questioning people, are primarily interested in collecting the data and facts required for sentencing an offender later on. Victims' emotions are rather a nuisance, and as for their claim to compensation, they are referred to the 'stony path' of civil law. To put it more bluntly, they are being transformed from victim into witnesses. But this leaves many victims quite dissatisfied.

The second aspect is that the traditionally repressive criminal system with all its negative side effects rather promotes than prevents crime and is being increasingly criticised.

The attempt to improve the situation of victims and to develop forms of response which emphasize norms, on the one hand, but manage to do without the negative impact of traditional punishment, on the other, led directly to victim-offender mediation. It is one and not the only possibility of including the victim's interests in the response to an offence and of giving the responsibility for his/her behaviour back to the offender.

To have the history of victim-offender mediation begin in 1985 is quite subjective and does not do justice to this measure, since even before that, the topic had been considered in many places. Thus, some experience with cases had been reported from Braunschweig earlier on, and in 1983 and 1984, the DBH (Association for Social Work, Criminal Justice, and Crime Policy) had established a working group to deal with this topic. In addition, first publications dealt with it at least peripherally. In 1985, however, victim-offender mediation was carried out for the first time in a systematic, professional way accompanied by research.

After that, matters developed quite fast, because the results of the first projects were met with general approval in the media and at professional conferences. 1987 saw the beginning of a boom of projects established by youth

welfare offices, voluntary agencies and court assistance offices. From 1988 to 1990, important events pushed developments forward (for example a symposium attended by the former Federal President Richard v. Weizsäcker), and statutory regulations implementing victim-offender mediation came into force. The Laender began issuing circular orders with the intention of regulating procedures. In 1991, courses were started to qualify mediators. In 1992, the so-called 'alternative professors' suggested including the concept of reconciliation in criminal law. The 59th Conference of Legal Experts (Juristentag) dealt with this question, too, and this eventually led to the implementation of victim-offender mediation in the Penal Code in 1994.

In 1996, North-Rhine Westfalia decided to promote 11 new projects in the field of criminal law for adults using funds from the Justice Department budget. Following this development of intensive discussions about damage compensation, the improvement of the situation of victims within criminal law and the encouraging experience in mediation projects, experts in criminal policy agreed that victim-offender mediation should be given a greater role within criminal justice and should be firmly established in the criminal law system.

This short outline of the history of victim-offender mediation needs supplementing: over the years, criticism from the perspective of victim support was often inconvenient and not always justified. In retrospect, however, it has to be pointed out that without this actually helpful criticism a sensitivity for victims' needs could not have been developed, so that the danger of instrumentalising victims for the benefit of offenders would have been a real threat.

2 Formal Procedure of Victim-Offender Mediation

Referral of cases:

- by order of the prosecution, on a prosecutor's own initiative or that of juvenile court assistance;
- by order of a judge after a bill of indictment has been submitted and the case is considered as suitable conjointly with the judge. The prosecution's consent is then required;
- self-referrals: Both offenders and injured parties may send an inquiry to a mediation project and ask them to mediate in a criminally significant conflict.

Letter to the offender and first talk with the offender:

- presenting the tasks of a mediation project as compared to dealing with the crime according to criminal law;

- asking questions about his/her willingness to participate in mediation;
- pointing out that responsibility has to be taken by offenders;
- clarifying his/her willingness to participate and what notions are linked to mediation.

Letter to, and first talk with, the injured party:

- presenting the mediation project;
- emphasising the fact that victim-offender mediation is an offer;
- pointing out that it is a measure which takes into account both the victim's and the offender's interests;
- clarifying his/her willingness to participate in victim-offender mediation and what notions are linked to it.

Joint meeting:

- dealing with different views of the offence;
- dealing with the victim's and the offender's emotional situations;
- clarifying material claims;
- agreeing on definite reconciliation services;

Control of reconciliation services: either by controlling the transfers of instalments into the account of the compensation fund or by queries to the injured party whether and how compensation has been given.

Report to the judiciary: In a short report the judge or the prosecutor is informed about the individual stages of the mediation process, compensation services and their fulfilment, as well as the injured party's view concerning a dismissal of the case.

Dismissal of the case by the judge or the prosecutor.

3 What Can be Achieved by Victim-Offender Mediation?

Reducing the fear of crimes

Example: An elderly woman was robbed of her bag, the (female) offender was not found. Two juveniles who overheard the police radio became 'free riders' by calling the woman and threatening her. If she continued answering questions to the police she would be killed. The two young people were caught with

the help of a telephone trap. During the mediation talk the woman got to know the offenders as real persons and could not believe what fears those meanwhile very subdued young people had raised in her.

Real delinquency and fear of crime seldom correspond. The media increase this fear of crime and produce an atmosphere in which it is almost impossible to deal with problems in a sensible and objective manner. The victim-offender mediation counteracts this tendency with each new case and reduces the fear of crime among the people affected.

Being satisfied with the judiciary

Example: A man was the injured party when the foil of his garden pond was cut and precious plants and animals living there died. During the mediation session he had the opportunity to describe in detail the value of those plants and animals. The question of compensation led to the agreement that the cost of animals and plants should be paid and that the pool should be returned to its old condition. Above all, the victim pointed out that he was impressed that the judiciary had reacted adequately to his case by suggesting a victim-offender mediation. In a comparable case involving his neighbour, the prosecutor had recommended a private suit.

Including victims in the question how their cases should be dealt with results in interesting, varying and unpredictable opinions and attitudes among them. As a rule, they lead to great satisfaction with the judiciary which made this possible by referring the case to a victim-offender mediation project. Especially, as far as victims are concerned, victim-offender mediation counteracts the general dissatisfaction with the way the judiciary deal with crime and, thus, is a real contribution to peace under the law.

Learning how do deal with conflicts in a different way

Example: Again and again, both parties in a relationship reacted violently to each other. After the man had been seriously injured and the police had been called by neighbours, the man reported his partner. Several mediation sessions followed in which they talked about the underlying conflict and agreed on rules of how to deal with future conflicts.

Victim-offender mediation encourages and supports autonomous and constructive conflict settlements. Very often it is the final point of a misdirected development. Victim-offender mediation cannot replace therapeutic interven-

tion. However, it helps to clarify the question if further intensive counselling is required.

De-escalation

Example: There had been disputes between the students of a vocational school and a high school for a longer period of time. One day, these disputes turned into a violent row and one of the high-school students got seriously injured. Both groups were then trapped in a spiral of threatening behaviour, and the high-school students were planning to take revenge, the courts being, in their view, "far too lax" in dealing with situations of that kind. The vocational school students, on their side, were not prepared to accept the sentencing of their fellow student and were planning acts of revenge, as well.

Very often offences are committed in a situation where the people involved are no longer up to dealing with a conflict and decide to act in a way that hides their feeling of a lack of power and inability to cope. In the victim-offender mediation session this circumstance is of high priority. There is time enough to think about the situation calmly and to develop alternatives with the purpose of, in fact, applying them when future conflicts arise. Victim-offender mediation is also a preventive measure, because it enables the persons involved to react adequately to a conflict and to find ways of conflict settlement which avoid prosecution.

A successful mediation always produces satisfaction among the people involved, i.e. usually the conflict is settled, future ways of dealing with each other are agreed on, and the matter as a whole is brought to a peaceful end. So there is no reason for the persons involved to go on with their dispute.

Confronting the offender with the results of his offence

Example: One night, a 24-year-old man, who was in a personal crisis, stopped the car of an elderly couple. After the woman, who was driving, had wound down the window, he held a knife to her throat and threatened her. With the words "Stay away, or I'll kill her", he kept the man, who came running around the car, at a distance. The man had to watch his wife come close to fainting under this tremendous pressure of being threatened. Suddenly, the offender laid off and escaped. In the mediation session, the couple described in full detail how they had felt and suffered from this offence.

Almost every offender finds strategies how to neutralise his offence. Very often, he assumes the victims are psychologically strong enough to cope with

this offence, or he assumes they are rich enough to get over financial losses. During a trial, he feels anger about the victims who 'have landed him in all that'. To think about the wrong he has committed very often does not enter his thoughts.

Probably, nobody can describe the situation more authentically than the victim him/herself. The offender's strategies to neutralise the matter are almost impossible to keep up when they are discussed in the presence of the victim. The authentic description of the situation without moral lecturing is a field of learning which is much to be appreciated.

4 What Types of Offences, How Many Cases, Success Rate?

Fortunately, there have been statistics on victim-offender mediation in Germany for years. These data have been compiled by Mr. Hartmann, University of Heidelberg, and others. Very soon, they will be available at the Federal Ministry of Justice. The three most notable points of these statistics, which I am repeatedly asked about, are:

What types of offences occur?

The following table depicts that almost the whole range of criminal offences described in the Criminal Code have also been dealt with in victim-offender mediation. One can notice, however, that most of the offences belong to the field of bodily injury, theft/fraud, damage to property, but also robbery and blackmail.

Criminal Offences	Number	Relative frequency in %
§ 113 resisting public officers	6	0,2 %
§ 123 trespassing	31	1,3 %
§ 125 public violence	31	1,3 %
§ 126 breach of public peace	3	0,1 %
§ 130 stirring up hatred against national, ethnic, racial or religious groups	1	
§ 142 leaving the scene of an accident	9	0,4 %
§ 145 misuse of emergency calls	4	0,2 %
§ 163 careless false oath	1	
§ 164 falsely suspecting someone	5	0,2 %
§ 168 defilement of graves	9	0,4 %
§ 176 sexual abuse of children	15	0,6 %
§ 178 sexual coercion	9	0,4 %

§ 183 indecent exposure	1	
§ 185 insult	224	19,3 %
§ 186 slander	4	0,2 %
§ 187 defamation	2	0,1 %
§ 223 bodily injury	779	32,3 %
§ 223a dangerous bodily injury	728	30,2 %
§ 223b abuse of persons under the custody of another	1	
§ 224 serious bodily injury	1	
§ 225 dangerous and serious bodily injury	2	0,1 %
§ 230 careless bodily injury	30	1,2 %
§ 239 detaining a person against his will	9	0,4 %
§ 239a kidnapping for ransom	4	0,2 %
§ 240 unlawful compulsion	90	3,7 %
§ 241 threat	146	6,1 %
§ 242 theft	143	5,9 %
§ 243 aggravated theft (larceny)	92	3,8 %
§ 244 gang theft	1	
§ 246 fraudulent appropriation	15	0,6 %
§ 248b unauthorised use of a vehicle	10	0,4 %
§ 249 robbery	77	3,2 %
§ 250 robbery with aggravation	18	0,7 %
§ 252 theft accompanied by violence	9	0,4 %
§ 253 extortion	23	1,0 %
§ 255 extortion accompanied by violence	96	4,0 %
§ 257 abetting	1	
§ 263 fraud	34	1,4 %
§ 263a computer fraud	7	0,3 %
§ 265 fraud related to insurance	1	
§ 265a avoiding payment on public transport	1	
§ 265b obtaining credit by false pretences	1	
§ 266 criminal breach of trust	1	
§ 267 forgery	5	0,2 %
§ 303 damage to property	345	14,3 %
§ 304 damage to property constituting a public danger	5	0,2 %
§ 306 aggravated arson	2	0,1 %
§ 315b dangerous interference with road traffic	2	0,1 %
§ 315c endangering road traffic	2	0,1 %
§ 316a assault on motorists with the intent of robbery	3	0,1 %
§ 323c failure to render aid	6	0,2 %
§ 326 environmentally dangerous disposal of refuse	2	0,1 %
§ 340 bodily injury inflicted on an officer on duty	1	

Important types of criminal offence:

Offence	Number	Relative frequency in %
Bodily injury, in total	1531	63,6 %
Theft and fraud, in total	272	11,3 %
Damages to property, in total	350	14,5 %
Robbery and extortion, in total	215	8,9 %
Criminal offences, in total	196	8,1 %
Violent crimes, in total	1767	73,3 %

How many cases?

Developments regarding the number of cases have been satisfactory over the last few years. As can be seen in the following diagram, 2100 cases were counted in 1998, 5100 cases in 1992 and 9100 cases in 1995.

These developments, however, have to be seen in context; the actual caseload figures are only an insignificant part of the total number of offences committed.

Success rate

Over the years, the number of cases completed by victim-offender mediation has remained the same, the number of cases with juvenile offenders being a bit higher than the number of cases with adult offenders. In only 10.8 per cent of all cases with juveniles there has been a withdrawal, a breaking off, or no agreement at all.

Results of VOM	All accused persons		Juveniles		Adults	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Complete settlement	1411	83,7 %	1146	85,1 %	78,4 %	
Partial settlement	71	4,4 %	55	4,1 %	4,8 %	
Withdrawal, breaking off, no agreement	203	12 %	145	10,8 %	52	16,8 %

5 Problems

Data protection, the right to refuse testimony, unlicensed legal advice

Victim-offender mediation is explicitly mentioned in the Juvenile Court Act and in the new Crime Prevention Act. For the practitioners, however, some difficulties have remained. Above all, questions regarding data protection, the right to refuse testimony, and unlicensed legal advice sometimes present insoluble problems for the local institutions.

The controversial and juridically still unsolved regulation of data protection requiring that agreement be sought from the prosecutor to access personal victim and offender data before a case can be referred to a voluntary agency, proves to be a big bureaucratic barrier. As a consequence, prosecutors tend to react as usual, i.e. they bring charges against someone, rather than undergo a procedure which, for them, is very time-consuming.

An increasing number of cases has become known where mediators were appointed as witnesses both in criminal and civil proceedings after a victim-offender mediation had failed. The result is that mediators, comparable to the police in a police questioning, should have to point out, before they start a victim-offender mediation, that everything said during the sessions could later be used in court in favour or against one or the other party. This contradicts the principle of confidentiality, which is a prerequisite for talking openly. As a rule, the courts acknowledge this protected area. A clear regulation, however, is still missing.

Quite often in his work, the mediator faces questions regarding civil law, making a basic knowledge of the Civil Code indispensable. The mediator, however, is not to provide legal advice. Considering that the persons involved are certain to ask questions, it becomes obvious that this is the grey area where unlicensed legal practice begins. Some institutions solve this problem by concluding consultative contracts with lawyers in private practice. A statutory regulation would also be possible stating that mediators, like debtor advisors, be allowed to provide legal advice within the framework of their activities.

The problems mentioned above, such as data protection, the right to refuse testimony and unlicensed legal practice, show that law-makers still have a lot to do. In 1996, the Ministry of Justice commissioned an expertise on these questions.

Organisational connections

The dispute about the organisational connections of victim-offender mediation is almost as old as the discussion of victim-offender mediation itself. The rivalry about who is the better provider of victim-offender mediation seems to build up high barriers between voluntary agencies, on the one hand, and social workers involved in juvenile cases, on the other. There are only some exceptions to this rule, where cooperation is exercised. But a survey among mediation projects on how successful mediation can be achieved has provided other criteria. There are high caseloads, with an increasing tendency and independently of organisational connections, wherever professional victim-offender mediation is provided, where new concepts were considered beforehand and where mediators have taken part in vocational training.

Funding

Agencies concerned with young people have largely been funded by the youth welfare services. But in times of diminishing financial resources, people are demanding more and more strongly for the judiciary to do the funding. There is a danger that provision for young people will be caught up in the controversies between the courts and youth welfare services and will eventually be without sufficient financial means.

Where adults are concerned, funding is done either through money made available for model projects, money for court assistance staff, or money coming in from donations and fines.

6 Outlook

When observing the recent development of victim-offender mediation, people often say it is one of the most promising crime policy initiatives, and there is every reason to believe that it will become a stable part of the criminal code. On the other hand, one cannot deny that the real caseload – there is a roughly estimated number of 12,000 cases a year – is only of minor importance within the whole range of criminal proceedings. There is an increasing discrepancy between public acknowledgement and discussion, on the one hand, and actual case work, on the other. In the future, much will depend on the question if this development can be stopped and if the following aims can be achieved:

- Victim-offender mediation is known and accepted by the courts and society as being an adequate instrument in a large number of conflicts.
- Qualified mediation teams are available as needed.

- The new mediation practice leads to considerable cost reductions in the traditional areas of judicial authority.
- There is a positive impact on people's satisfaction with the state of peace under the law and public security.
- Guidelines concerning the quality of mediation are acknowledged, applied, and developed by field workers.
- Strategies of conflict settlement, already known from mediation, influence various other areas of society.

All those aims are unlikely to be achieved in the field of victim-offender mediation alone. On the one hand, this measure must be independent and should be given priority. On the other hand, co-operation with other fields of mediation is a *conditio sine qua non* of successful development.

4.4 HALT Bureaus - Fast Tracking to Juvenile Delinquency

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HALT Nederland, Leiden

Young people who have committed a relatively minor offence can be given the opportunity to 'pay for their crimes' without the intervention of the courts. This is possible via one of the 'HALT' Bureaus in the Netherlands.

When a young person between the ages of 12 and 18 (a legal minor) is arrested by the police for an offence such as vandalism or a petty property crime, he (or she) is referred directly to a HALT Bureau in his home town or district. There he will be offered the opportunity to make amends by performing work and by repairing or paying for the damage he has caused. If the young person agrees to this HALT arrangement, and if he keeps to all the agreements made, no formal summons will be issued and he will therefore receive no legal penalty nor acquire a criminal record. However, if for any reason the HALT arrangement goes wrong, then a summons is issued and the Public Prosecutions Department may yet instigate criminal proceedings.

The HALT Scheme

A young person referred to HALT is invited for an interview at the HALT Bureau. There, he (or she) is told exactly how HALT works and what is expected from him. Parents are also informed and the HALT Bureau contacts any victims of the offence to arrive at a suitable arrangement for restitution. The young person can still choose to have the offence referred to the Public Prosecution service, rather than follow the HALT scheme. However, if he chooses to work via HALT, then further agreements are made. As a rule, the HALT arrangement involves a number of hours' work, designed wherever possible to repair the damage caused by the offence or to make (part) restitution for it. The agreements concerning the work to be performed and the payment settlements are set out in writing and then presented to all parties concerned for their consent. If the young offender agrees to this HALT arrangement, then the HALT Bureau will make all the necessary arrangements and supervise the payment of damage restitution. In the case of young people under the age of 16, the parents must also give their written consent to the HALT agreement.

The work to be performed is directly related to the nature of the offence and is carried out in the young person's free time (at weekends and during school holidays).

The Effect of the HALT Scheme

'Tit for tat' really works: vandals mend their ways after taking part in the HALT scheme. In HALT, the Ministry of Justice has an excellent weapon against juvenile delinquency. Research has shown that HALT is an effective remedy for vandalism in more than sixty per cent of cases.

Important Advantages of the HALT Scheme

- a pedagogically sound alternative to traditional criminal proceedings through the courts;
- an effective remedy for the crime committed – 'tit for tat';
- the victim receives restitution for losses incurred;
- a non-judicial remedy whereby the young person does not acquire a criminal record.

HALT's Clients

Most HALT clients are children of school age (around fifteen) who have become involved in acts of graffiti, vandalism, rowdiness, minor acts of arson or petty theft. Often they commit such offences to gain status among their peers, to appear 'tough', or because they find it exciting and daring to do things that are 'not allowed'. Some 20% to 25% of HALT's clientele are girls, among whom shoplifting is more prevalent than, say, vandalism.

The young people involved in the HALT scheme cannot be typified as 'problem children' in the same way as so-called 'social drop-outs'. More often than not they still attend school, (where they have a good attendance record), use few drugs, and most live with their parents. However, they do commit more offences than other young people of their age. Some HALT clients display the characteristics of juvenile delinquents and the outlook for them, in terms of probable contact with the police, does not look promising.

Other Activities of the HALT Bureaus

In some cases a young person displays a problem more serious than occasional 'rowdy' behaviour. In these instances, a simple corrective measure undertaken via the HALT Bureau is not enough. With this in mind, the HALT Bureaus conduct research into unlawful behaviour among young people in order to take the necessary measures to remove the causes of such behaviour.

For example, are we talking mainly about causes peer-pressure bad behaviour? Or are there other factors which influence the incidence of vandalism or shoplifting – problems at home or at school for example, or a lack of recreational facilities. In such cases, HALT acts to do something about it.

HALT Bureaus also undertake various preventative measures, including educative programmes in schools and projects designed to reduce vandalism and public nuisance in specific locations.

The Organization of the HALT Bureaus

The first HALT Bureau begun in Rotterdam in 1981, whereafter other towns and cities followed this lead. In the late eighties, financial aid from central government stimulated the spread of HALT Bureaus throughout the Netherlands. There are currently 63 HALT Bureaus in the Netherlands and they achieve an almost total coverage of the country.

Most HALT Bureaus are run by the local authority, which also takes responsibility for administrative and financial matters. A small proportion of the Bureaus are registered as autonomous foundations or are run as part of other organizations. Overall responsibility for the HALT scheme falls to the Public Prosecutions Department. HALT Bureaus are thus a cooperative venture between the local authorities and the Public Prosecutions Department.

The larger HALT Bureaus have ten to fifteen full-time personnel, while the entire operation of the smallest is in the hands of one part-time staff member. The costs of the HALT scheme are covered partly by national government and partly by local authorities.

The HALT scheme has been on an official legal footing since September 1995. A governmental Order in Council sets out those offences for which the scheme may be applied and there are also general legislative guidelines for referrals to the HALT Bureaus and for the scheme itself. Further national regulations are being formulated in order to guarantee uniformity and consistency of approach among the regional HALT Bureaus.

HALT Nederland

HALT Nederland is the national consultative body for the HALT Bureaus. Its most important tasks are representing the interests of the Bureaus, providing information to the Bureaus and to others, furthering coordination between the HALT Bureaus, promoting knowledge and expertise, and providing a wide range of other services to the HALT Bureaus.

One important function of HALT Nederland is to support the individual Bureaus. This is achieved through providing information and advice, and through supplying a variety of other services.

A regular newsletter is published and information packages concerning many topics relevant to HALT's work have been compiled. At the request of the HALT Bureaus, various additional areas of service provision have been developed, including automation and computerization. HALT Nederland has made the computer program 'AuraH' available to the Bureaus in order for them to maintain a uniform computer database of their administration. Last but not least, various 'theme days' and national conferences are organized in order to discuss and coordinate developments, and to exchange knowledge and experience.

HALT Nederland represents the interests of the HALT Bureaus at the national level and liaises with the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Association of Netherlands Municipalities, the Netherlands Railways and the Council of the Dutch Retail Trade. HALT Nederland is the national coordination point for information about the HALT Bureaus and as such is responsible for a number of publications. HALT Nederland also represents the Bureaus at congresses while contact between the HALT Bureaus and a number of national organizations (for example, those responsible for the distribution of resources) is maintained via HALT Nederland.

4.5 The Haaglanden "T-Team": Non-Residential Support for Young Homeless

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Previous History

The Hague R.I.J.- Haaglanden 'T-team' (T = Homeless) started in August 1992 as an experiment initiated by the VWS Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Sports. The experiment was aiming at non-residential support for young homeless and at the same time establishing:

- 1 if the working method is successful for this target group;
- 2 if it is supplementary to current services;
- 3 if the amount of young homeless require it possibly to be implemented, or the T-team to be maintained.

At the end of the period (December '95) the experiment appeared so successful and indispensable that from then on the T-team became part of mainstream services in Haaglanden region. This decision was based, among other things, on the following facts:

- no relapse of 65% of young homeless into the homeless scene and problem matter after 1 year;
- annual presence of 300 - 400 young homeless in The Hague. The working method also proved useful – adjusted or not – for other multi-problem target groups such as juvenile delinquents, over-17s in crisis, teenage mothers.

The Situation at the Moment

The above experience has been conducive to the R.I.J decision to set up a department for developing coherent services especially for young people aged 17 – 23. At present this Individual Support department comprises the following services:

- Night care (bed-bath-bread provision to young homeless for 5 nights monthly).

- Crisis team (3-6 weeks of young homeless support: intensive, short-term, out-reaching, non-residential, and with a housing option).
- T-team (3-4 months of young homeless support: outreaching, non-residential).
- Care Leaving Programme for young homeless (6-9 months of out-reaching support for young people after successful T-team counselling but still in need of some practical support, including a housing option).
- Supported living team (Various forms of small-scale projects of supported lodgings, e.g. for teenage mothers, minors from children's homes, foster families etc., young semi-psychiatrics and low gifted young people.).

The T-team comprises 5 social workers with an annual service capacity of 100 young homeless and the duty to create – in partnership with the latter and through flexible, outreaching and community-based support – prospects that enable these service users to properly participate in society. Hence, the working method developed now is termed Intensive Ambulatory Support (I.A.B.). This entails – among other things – an office-based and non-residential T-team approach.

I.A.B. Points of Departure

Working principles and attitude are:

- the T-team operates from a network of organisations, agencies and persons relevant to homeless youth support (police, social welfare, social work, job centres, etc.);
- case histories are to be examined to understand origins of crisis relapses and to prevent these from re-occurring after completing services;
- services are aimed at young people's sound participation in society within 3 to 4 months by meeting objectives in the spheres of their abilities, housing, funds, day spending and social networks;
- support is given within the young person's own responsibility;
- support is needs-led and potential-oriented (client-based services);
- provision is flexible, outreaching and supportive; the approach to young drifters and their trouble is problem-solving and not problem-stressing;
- counselling enhances the young person's strengths and positive sides;
- services are of a practical and confronting nature; they address and – where possible – involve young clients' social networks (parents, relatives, appropriate third parties);
- reconstitution of links with parents/relatives is pursued, or – if not practicable – new social networks are developed.

The Target Group

The T-team caters for the 'homeless under-23s' category. Their problem matter is deliberately called young homelessness and not vagrancy. Everyday practice shows that people readily link the terms young vagrant and old vagrant including related problem matters and images. One also shows a propensity to view drifting behaviour as a housing problem basically to be solved by providing accommodation. In many respects young homeless' issues are incomparable with those relating to adult vagrants, some examples of it being:

- the adult vagrant has participated in society, involving loss of employment, partners, relationships, and drug/alcohol/gambling-related trouble causing his/her drifting behaviour; whilst the young drifter has not yet participated in society, still facing the beginning of his "social career";
- most young homeless are still lacking the resilience to believe in positive prospects, one way or an other, of their own personal future (mainstream ideals);
- they generally are given refuge with "friends and acquaintances" or else are roaming the streets all night and search in the daytime for a bed rather than sleeping rough in porches, doorways, etc.;
- they do their utmost to look like their peers;
- they hang around in places where also other young people meet and not at meeting points of adult vagrants.

The Origin of Homelessness

Homelessness of young people develops from their still living at home – where affection and security are insufficiently provided – and onwards. Most of them find themselves in isolated positions, feel unwanted and often are victims of sexual or general abuse and neglect. They develop significant behaviour that is negative: aggression, withdrawal, great mistrust, lying, truancy, crime, etc. Circumstances finally make them run away from home, being evicted or placed into care by the intervention of third parties. Some of those placed into care directly from home are unable or unwilling to be supported. The above described troubled youth end up in the streets finding themselves in the "homelessness circuit" and will then be termed 'young homeless' within the T-team definition of their position and inherent problem matter:

Young people in long-term repeated crisis lacking positive self-images, self-esteem, future prospects and social networks, unable to come to terms with themselves or their situations and generally mistrusting others.

They thus find themselves in isolated positions in society they are not actually participating in (lacking accommodation, daily education, or employment, regular income and stable “positive” relationships).

Some evidence on the T-team target group:

1 Gender:

- 60% boys
- 40% girls

2 Ethnicity:

- 50% Dutch
- 20% Moroccan
- 15% Surinamese
- 5% Netherlands Antilles
- 10% other countries

3 Age:

- 75% between 17 and 21 years

4 Sexual abuse:

- 75% girls
- 20% boys

5 Prostitution:

- 40% girls
- 15% boys

6 Substance use (85% of the target group):

- 70% use only soft drugs
- 15% use soft drugs, xtc, speed,
- 15% use soft drugs, xtc, speed, cocaine

7 Further observations:

- 30% have gambling problems
- 65% committing crime
- 65% originate from broken families
- 15% have lost one or both parents
- 90% left school without qualifications
- 95% have no legal income
- 95% have no medical insurance

Admission Procedure

The young person himself as well as any person/agency in touch with the young homeless can report for T-team support. The initial interview takes place in principle on the same or next day. The day after the young person can call in to hear whether s/he qualifies for the service and, if so, when and by whom s/he will be served. If s/he does not qualify because of too light a problem or contra-indications, other provision will be discussed. If s/he consents to that alternative the T-team will contact the agency referred to, or accompany the client there.

Contra-Indications

The T-team also operates some contra-indications deriving from too limited resources/expertise for a proper response to this problem matter. If contra-indications are established the T-team does offer support during referral to the appropriate service. In case the young client does not want to make use of that, further contacts will then be terminated. Contra-indications are:

- being 24 years or over;
- having serious addiction-related trouble;
- having serious psychiatric problems;
- not having a legal residence permit;
- not having a command of the Dutch language.

Reasons to immediately stop support:

- continuous offending;
- serious crime, which will be brought to police or court. By prior communicating this condition to the client, social workers avoid breaking their professional secret.

Working Method

The ways of working operated by the T-team can be defined as short-term (3 to 4 months), flexible, outreaching and community-based support to develop a sequential service programme. Services/support can be divided into three elements, notably:

- 1 admission, assessing the social context, and meeting basic needs;
- 2 counselling/guidance;
- 3 finishing / leaving care, or cross-referral.

(1) After the admission procedure – dealing with contra-indications and target group qualifications – services during the first 3-4 week include 2 routes:

- Assessment of the social context: The young person's case history and current situation are charted and analysed here, not just his/her own account, but addressed are also parents, other family members, or appropriate third parties relevant for information on his/her functioning. As a rule, the T-team worker starts from positive opportunities, in other words analyses strengths and weaknesses of the young client and his/her social environment;
- meeting basic needs: Focus lies on subsistence level, the minimum basis for "normal" functioning: food, clothes, medical care, funds and accommodation.

(2) After completion of the analysis displaying strengths and weaknesses of the young person a plan will jointly be made. This is based on his/her needs and wishes of which meeting must be practicable in order to prevent new disappointments. Programmes designed include:

- re-establishment of family contacts;
- creation of a new social network and environment;
- meaningful daily activities;
- stable income;
- long-term accommodation;
- specific needs-led service options.

All this is aimed at a basis and conditions that do not relate to homelessness anymore, and allow for a minimum expectation of the young client's relapse.

(3) After achieving the above aims and objectives the counselling process finds itself in the final stage and services will now be completed and terminated.

Completion Programme

This can be done in three ways, notably:

- 1 The young person is no longer in specific need of further assistance. In this case completion of care is without referral or transmission to other agencies, provided that the client has a social network to count on and a reasonable level of independence.
- 2 The remaining needs are such that specialist or long-term care or support are required. Transfer to the appropriate agencies follows.
- 3 The remaining needs are for some practical and/or social skills or support with establishing positive social relationships. Targeted short-term (3-6 months) support without further counselling is assessed appropriate here. Internal transfer takes place to the leaving care department for the young homeless.

Care Leaving Support

The five years' operation of the R.I.J.-Haaglanden T-team rapidly showed that just arranging for daily activities, funds and housing does not make for the universal panacea to homelessness-related problems. Repeated crisis – so typical of the young homeless – turned out to re-occur, including the risk of relapse even after pursuit of the above “hard objectives”. In short, after meeting these objectives one was still facing the “real job” for the young client to do: retaining of accommodation, income, day programmes, and the development of a social network. Despite most young people's aspiration for it, early independent living appeared to have been entered prematurely with insufficient practical and/or social skills and positive contacts. A response to this was needed to prevent from relapse and has been found in the so-called Care Leaving Programme with the individually tailored T-team approach as point of departure. The stage of leaving care entails a final T-team counselling programme after which the young client should participate in society without further services support.

In the meantime, this leaving care programme is considered an absolute prerequisite to developing I.A.B. programmes. Services concentrate on young clients' expressed needs for accommodation, education/employment, and their embedding into society. The programme is accessible to those successfully completing the initial T-team programme and has two options:

- the young person lives independently and receives ambulatory support for practical needs;
- the young person lives in a small-scale residence (3-4 youngsters) including 1 main occupier: a young worker / working student without care career and acting as a senior. Alongside that, a field social worker supports the young client with practical problems.

The format of this supported living model is to prevent concentration of problem youth. Others involved communicate what society looks like and how it deals with everyday issues, because peers are listened to, rather than older social workers.

4.6 Transferring the Dutch INSTAP Method to the German System of Child and Youth Services

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Introduction

The debate about effective and practical concepts for working with children and adolescents whose behaviour is perceived to be extremely deviant and threatening has intensified over the last few years. The attention given by the media to the growing number of children and adolescents who commit criminal offences or appear as homeless young people in our cities has clearly increased political pressure to find new solutions for these "phenomena". The general public frequently suggests that governmental sanctions should be tightened (for instance, the penal law relating to young people and demands for secure provision). However, psychologists, social workers, and educators have pointed out again and again that sanctions do not achieve much more than conformity to whatever system of sanctions is enforced. On the other hand, long-term and effective changes in behaviour require the children and adolescents concerned to participate voluntarily in educational measures and to develop a high degree of individual activity. Still, social work must be innovative in its reactions to professional and political challenges. The essential features of today's aid system for young people showing deviant behaviour go back to the seventies. In view of tight government budgets, it is not very realistic to expect existing intervention programs provided by social services for children and adolescents to grow in numbers. Moreover, it is doubtful whether a strategy of "more of the same" would do justice to current challenges. Hence, new answers must be found.

Children and adolescents with deviant behaviour do not exist in German cities only. In its search for new innovative concepts of youth work, the "Rauhes Haus" (institute for practical social work = isp) has taken up a suggestion of the DJI (German Youth Institute) and sent professionals to Holland to examine the method of the INSTAP Bureau there, successfully employed since the beginning of the nineties. Dutch INSTAP teams are capable of avoiding (or of interrupting at an early stage) young people's long-term "careers" within the system of aid and sanctions, and they do this at relatively low cost. The project applied

for wants to clarify possibilities, conditions – as well as limitations – involved in the transfer of the INSTAP method to the German youth welfare system in a three-year trial period. The method to be tried out in the pilot project will run under the name of “non-residential field support” in order to distinguish it from the Dutch approach. This is necessary for legal reasons (with regard to names), while, at the same time, indicating there might be differences of methodological application.

The INSTAP Method

The INSTAP method is an approach developed by Jan van Susteren and his INSTAP Bureau in the late eighties for working with adolescents and young adults. Meanwhile, it has been rendered more discriminating and accurate. The INSTAP Bureau, working on a private and commercial basis, has implemented and practised its method in a large number of Dutch cities, supported financially by the Dutch Ministry of Youth and the communities involved. On behalf of the Ministry of Youth, two follow-up evaluation studies were carried out (Beke, Kusters, Jakobs 1991, and Gijtenbeek 1996), which confirmed the high success rate of the INSTAP method.

If one tries to relate the INSTAP method to social work concepts in Germany, it would seem to come closest to a combination of small-area community work and intensive socio-pedagogical care for individuals, limited in time (see §35 KJHG = Child and Youth Services Law). Intervention is based on bringing together the resources of various institutions in a given community and the individual resources of young people, i.e. their “network of positive relations”. Both sources contribute to stabilising young people’s lives as individuals, thus making a lasting (re)integration in their social environment possible. Similar to the new family support services (e.g. Family Activation Management, FAM), this community-oriented empowerment brings short, but intensive intervention to bear (a maximum of three months; key 1:2). INSTAP teams supplement youth services available in the community and inter-connect them. In many cases, they can prevent or reduce prolonged and costly residential or non-residential care. The INSTAP method draws on a systemic approach to explain and change deviant behaviour of children and adolescents.

The INSTAP Model for Explaining and Changing Deviant Behaviour

INSTAP assumes that young people who are admitted to the support program have partly or entirely left their original social environment. The fact that the resources of this “network” are missing – the (extended) family belongs here, as well as friends, teachers, and other people they relate to specifically – de-

stabilises their lives and may trigger deviant behaviour which, in turn, reinforces apparently reasonable survival strategies. Thus, we can see that delinquency and homelessness result from the loss of stability of the social environment. The INSTAP method further assumes that young people always have positive and fortifying experiences along with the negative and destructive ones. These supportive relationships have to be (re)activated. A personal network, based on relationships with positive connotations, has a stabilising effect and enables young people to control their future development on their own, in a socially constructive manner. (Re)integration is meant to give young people a chance to lead a life, once again, in which there is no conflict with social institutions, and to be part of a stable community.

The Community Network

An essential factor for the success of the INSTAP method is the close co-operation with a community network of (semi)professional partners. Before the work with young people begins, a network is built including anyone who deals with (or might deal with), or might be of help to the target group in a given community. It is not primarily a matter of inter-connecting institutions at their management level (police, youth office, social services department, voluntary agencies, the courts, and others), as has been attempted frequently in traditional community work. Rather, the co-operation of employees in these institutions is organised, employees who have direct contact to children and adolescents, i.e. law enforcement officers, street workers, social workers involved in juvenile cases, probation officers, teachers, desk officers in the youth/social services and housing departments. In the Netherlands, such community networks are currently being created in urban or suburban areas with a population of about 50,000. The networks offer INSTAP teams resources available at short notice (accommodation, a place of work, training/school, leisure time programs etc.), so that individual support plans can take effect.

Staff of the community network receive further training in advance of the project work to prepare them for co-operation with INSTAP.

The Concept of Intervention

INSTAP takes in clients aged 12 to 24.¹ At first contact, a "problem profile" is drawn up together with the young people. This profile is the basis of the inter-

¹ Practical experience in the Netherlands has shown that adolescents with psychoses, manifest drug addiction (consumption of more than 0.5 grams of heroin per day) and professionally organised criminal behaviour cannot really participate in the successful implementation of the intervention concept.

vention concept. The decisive factor for intervention by the INSTAP team is not the number or intensity of problems, but rather how the team evaluates the possibility of co-operating with adolescents to "bring them back" to a stable social environment. Intensive care of adolescents, ten to twelve weeks long, is at the core of the INSTAP method, divided into three stages.

At the contact stage, the most pressing and immediate problems of adolescents are solved (temporarily). After that, various problem areas are described, together with the adolescents, in as much detail as possible, so that they can be worked on (health, criminal offences, accommodation, job/training, family, among others). From there, their (former) casual social network is reconstructed. Special attention is given to so-called VIPs (people the adolescents relate to positively), and they will play an important role as the care concept unfolds. The next step involves adolescents in developing and agreeing to a support plan in order to reactivate their former social network or, if necessary, to build up a new one. VIPs and adolescents' wishes and strengths are of particular significance at this point.

At the following intervention stage, adolescents and their program organisers work on concrete tasks, the goal being to find and implement solutions to problems that were analysed and described before. During this phase, the professional helper is available for adolescents at all times, 24 hours a day. Subsequent to the intervention stage, adolescents should be able to behave, to a large extent, in a conflict-free and stable manner within their regional social network and to determine and control their further development by themselves. After the intervention stage of approximately ten to twelve weeks, INSTAP no longer looks after these adolescents.

At the final control stage, INSTAP teams make contact with adolescents again at intervals of two, six and eighteen months. They want to find out how successful the intervention has been. If necessary, a second intervention phase is arranged with an adolescent. According to the INSTAP Bureau, further intervention is required in 22% of all cases which, then, is effective for a long evaluation period.

*Transferring the INSTAP Method to Germany -
Intensive Field
Support (Ambulante Intensive Begleitung =
A.I.B.)*

Undoubtedly, the INSTAP method developed in the Netherlands can be an effective addition to youth welfare services in German communities. Previous experience has shown that INSTAP teams have been able to avoid or reduce

prolonged residential or non-residential support by means of their short-term pedagogical work with behaviourally deviant children and adolescents. Therefore, using such teams in Germany promises qualified innovation along with cost-saving effects. At first, the transfer would follow Dutch procedures of implementing INSTAP teams. The different legal and historical situation of German youth welfare services would have to be taken into account, so that the new service, depending as it does on co-operation, is accepted in the youth work landscape here.

Important questions concerning the transfer of the INSTAP method to A.I.B. areas are as follows:

- How will the statutory and voluntary sectors of youth work react to the new service?
- In which communities is it useful to employ A.I.B. teams?
- How can effective co-operation among teams be achieved?
- How much preparation do the teams need for their work?
- What kind of support do the teams need?
- In what organisational form would teams be the most independent?
- What services can teams offer to other providers?
- How can co-operation with other providers be organised?
- How can conflicts with other social institutions be handled?
- Which adolescents can A.I.B. teams support most successfully?
- Can Dutch success rates be achieved in Germany as well?
- What (unbureaucratic) solutions are there for young people who cannot be supported at their place of residence? (The problem of local responsibility).
- How and on what legal basis can the teams be financed? Is partial financing per hour of qualified performance possible?

These questions will be supplemented and rendered more accurate in the course of the project. The objective is to determine the prerequisites, procedures and effects of implementing A.I.B. teams in the youth welfare system of German communities, and to do so by adhering closely to practical experience and to the knowledge gained by teams carrying out their exemplary tasks.

The Course of the Project

An A.I.B. team will be implemented as a model in each of the cities involved (two in the new and two in the old Laender). The isp will advise the cities as to the choice of communities for the teams and clients. The pilot project will be carried out in three stages:

The Preliminary Stage

At the beginning, the designated team members of the isp will be introduced to A.I.B. team work by the INSTAP Bureau. Members of isp will then advise and supervise A.I.B. teams in terms of methodology and organisation concerning their tasks. During the entire project, there will be continuous feedback from isp members to the INSTAP Bureau. The specialist advice of the INSTAP Bureau will accompany individual case work, internal team work, implementation and co-operation with regional networks. At the preliminary stage, a certain combination of providers will be worked out in the communities involved to enable teams to work independently and with financial support during the two years of the project stage. Special attention must be given to the factor of how the teams are accepted, because their success will partly depend on their integration into the existing regional structures of youth work.

The Project Stage

During the two years of the project stage, isp members will prepare all A.I.B. teams for their tasks and give them ongoing support to secure local efforts and method transfer. The following jobs will be done by the isp:

- supporting the implementation process of teams; in particular, the development of regional networks;
- establishing teams in the existing structures of youth work;
- advising teams on a weekly basis (supervision, intervision);
- advising teams continuously in their work with regional networks;
- supporting the implementation of the A.I.B. method at all locations by arranging contacts and partnerships with Dutch teams and meetings of local team members for co-ordination purposes;
- adapting the method conceptionally to the conditions of German youth welfare services (prevention, youth work planning etc.);
- documenting the development process of teams and regional networks;
- embedding the method in an overall, theoretically sound concept;
- developing further the project tools and documentation methods of teams;
- organising specialist conferences and publications to initiate a nation-wide discussion of the method.

Weekly counselling for teams will be done alternately by two isp members. Supervision (individual counselling) of teams must be carried out by members with an appropriate professional background who are familiar both with the practical implications of the A.I.B. method and with socio-educational provision for young people. Intersession (method counselling) requires good knowledge of

socio-educational provision for young people and creative implementation of the A.I.B. method.

The Evaluation Stage

The six-month evaluation stage will be used to provide selective “after-care” for local teams. At this stage, teams are to be supported and counselled with regard to their integration in regional structures of youth work. Finally, the data collected during the project phase are to be evaluated and presented at an international conference.

Evaluation and Advisory Committee

The pilot project will be evaluated by the DJI (German Youth Institute). Questions concerning academic support will be dealt with as arranged with the German Youth Institute. In addition, the establishment of an advisory committee is being planned. The BMFSFJ, representatives of the communities involved and representatives of leading organisations in the communities will be on the committee, as well as experts having advised the pilot project.

4.7 Summary and Conclusions

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The topic of the work group was "What can be done for young offenders?", and this topic can clearly be placed in the category of tertiary crime prevention. In contrast to primary and secondary crime prevention which focusses on heading off crime, the legal framework, in our case, has greater significance. The reaction to, or punishing of, crimes is supposed to stop delinquent youths from committing new crimes and becoming recidivists. All criminologists agree, however, that measures under penal law are counter-productive as far as the prevention of recidivism is concerned. Alternative response strategies were investigated and developed. The legal framework being different in Germany and the Netherlands, different methods and approaches in tertiary crime prevention have been developed, too. An important distinction is the age of criminal responsibility. It is 12 in the Netherlands and 14 in Germany, which means that legal sanctions in the Netherlands must be adapted to the younger age group. Irrespective of discussions about the age of criminal responsibility, the question remains of how to deal in a meaningful way with crimes committed by very young people – meaningful in the sense of preventing recidivism and going beyond legal sanctions in order to do so.

An approach presented by Germany was the victim-offender mediation. It has been praised in Germany as an appropriate reaction to offences in the context of criminal proceedings. In an out-of-court arbitration process, offenders and victims are included in an attempt to redress the damage done. This happens on the basis of mediation – a method of constructive conflict arbitration involving an impartial mediator. Victim-offender mediation gives prevention two important chances: first, the offender must face his victim personally, which does not necessarily happen in court, and is thus confronted with the consequences of his act more vividly; second, reappraising the offence and redressing the damage often comforts the victim whose anxiety about becoming the victim of another offence is thus reduced. Offender-victim-compensation is appropriate as a reaction to serious offences; for petty crimes, the mediation procedure is too complicated. If it is successful, criminal proceedings against the offender are usually abandoned. The offender-victim-compensation concept is being applied throughout Germany, but not as often as would be possible and desirable. The work group unanimously held the

opinion that victim-offender mediation projects were a useful and convincing approach to tertiary crime prevention. The idea was taken up from there of finding ways to initiate a model program in the Netherlands with the objective of establishing long-term projects of the same kind.

From the Netherlands came the idea of support offices. If an adolescent is caught committing a minor offence (e.g. vandalism, damage to property or shoplifting), the police will pass him/her directly on to the local support office which looks for ways to replace or to pay for the items in question, as a rule by obliging the adolescent to do some kind of work. Thus, adolescents are directly confronted with their acts and gets the chance to make up for their mistakes. If they play by the rules, they will not be reported and the public prosecutor will not intervene. This approach of the support offices is remarkable in several ways in its reaction to juvenile delinquency and offers some important advantages over criminal proceedings: adolescents experience a quick reaction, there is a direct relation between the damage done and efforts to redress it, and the out-of-court solution avoids an entry in criminal records. In spite of these advantages, discussions considered a transfer to German penal law for young offenders to be difficult, since the police in Germany work with the principle of legality and not, as in the Netherlands, with the principle of appropriateness. The police in Germany cannot stop criminal proceedings. They are obliged to bring in the public prosecutor, and only the prosecution has the right to stop proceedings. This means that, where petty crimes are concerned, the Netherlands would initiate a support arrangement, whereas in Germany it might take months for adolescents to receive a letter from the public prosecutor telling them that their case had been dismissed because of the trifling nature of the offence, or obliging them to pay a small fine.

The conference, and the work group, had the objective of pooling different kinds of practical experience with crime-preventive methods, building networks, and encouraging a mutual learning process. The work group achieved this objective in an exemplary manner. The method of intensive field care, as employed by the T-teams in Den Haag, led to reflections on how this method could be transferred to the German youth welfare system. Even before the conference started, there were contacts between a German project group of the "Institut für soziale Praxis" and Dutch T-teams. T-teams employ a method of intensive field support, limited in time, for (not exclusively) delinquent children and adolescents. They integrate the resources of young people and their social networks in their work. The Netherlands are very successful with this target group, whereas in Germany there is a lack of appropriate youth welfare provision. The work group agreed that a transfer of the method to the German youth welfare system was desirable, but not possible from one day to another. The differences between the relatively inflexible German youth welfare service and existing structures in the Netherlands are too great. Therefore, the transfer

of the Dutch method of intensive field support, its implementation and adaptation to the German youth welfare system, shall be carried out in the context of a model project.

This example clearly shows how helpful and meaningful an international exchange of experiences is, as is the continuous development of networks where practical concepts are concerned. Even though our work group may have highlighted only a small part of the problem, it has clearly demonstrated that communicating successful practical strategies to one another, and to do so by going beyond one's own legal and youth welfare system, can be a great help, as Europe becomes more united and the development of crime prevention is a concern shared by all.

5 Youth Services Planning as Part of a Preventive Strategy

5.1 Challenges of a Preventive Youth Policy - an Introduction

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This part of the book deals mainly with the experience gained in planning processes and joint professional networking. It examines how they benefit the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

In this context, we will also discuss which institutions can provide relevant information, to what extent this information can help to predict delinquent behaviour, and which parts of it can be regarded as useful for planning preventive youth services. In addition, we will take a closer look at the cooperation among those institutions that either deal with delinquent youths and risk groups or are in some way affected by them (e.g. schools, social workers, the police, the courts, neighbourhoods).

We consider the following questions to be the most important ones for planning preventive action and preventive youth services: what kind of information do we need and what kind do we get when planning youth work measures, youth work facilities and preventive programmes? Why is it that some important information cannot be accessed? How is the same kind of information interpreted by various professional groups? Why do they think that some particular pieces of information are relevant for preventing juvenile delinquency? What types of information do various professional groups and institutions see as relevant for preventing juvenile delinquency? What do youth work planners have to learn if they want to deal appropriately with the information given by institutions? How can information coming from various institutions and professional groups dealing with problems of juvenile delinquency be bundled, so that an improved and more comprehensive picture of a particular neighbourhood or difficult youth group can be drawn as compared to information coming from one source only? What solutions are possible?

Contributions in this part of the book will try to find answers to at least some of these questions. As a guideline and to make these contributions more comprehensible, Alice van Unen will give a short overview of current legislation in the Netherlands and Germany concerned with information, either provided by or obtained from institutions that work with children and adolescents: the planning of youth service measures (at the primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels) as well as the planning of youth service facilities by national, regional and local administrations; the cooperation among institutions dealing with young people. In this context, Alice van Unen will also discuss new developments, e.g. the plan of county and community authorities in the Dutch province of Friesland, and of institutions operating within the counties and communities (such as the police, preventive youth facilities and day care centers for children), to bring these institutions together in a transparent organizational structure. Information about children, for instance, can be collected in the new organization and can then be accessed and used for planning preventive youth facilities.

Eric van Santen will explain the discrepancy between the requirements and the reality of youth welfare planning in Germany. Not all youth offices do such planning, although it is laid down by law in the German Child and Youth Services Act as a responsibility of local youth authorities, and although professionals working in youth welfare all agree that planning youth welfare provision is a necessary measure of successful youth policy. He will present data about the extent of youth welfare planning, which areas of child and youth services are covered by it, what resources are available, and what problems planners have to cope with. Van Santen will discuss why the prevention of juvenile offences, till this very day, has played only a minor role in youth welfare planning and why this should be changed.

Cor van 't Hoff will give an overview of information strategies and methods with regard to collecting data about young people. Using an example from the city of Eindhoven, he will show different kinds of information sources, their usefulness and their limitations. He will also give an overview of academic and practical discussions in the Netherlands concerning the strategies of information gathering.

In particular, the bottlenecks will be considered that occur when information about young people is provided. The fundamental question will be raised whether it is really necessary to work out monitoring systems for young people. Finally, van 't Hoff will plead for the re-establishment of contacts between policy makers in the youth field and the youths themselves.

Maria Blom will present the project "Risk of Drug Dependency and Monitoring" (DDRAM) and will discuss its importance for some of the questions raised in the introduction. This project wants to make it easier to pinpoint young people running the risk of drug addiction. It monitors trends in the use of illegal

drugs and other narcotics, champions the acquisition of new knowledge and supports drug research in the Netherlands. At the same time, its aim is to pass on information to a joint Dutch (and European) prevention program for young people at risk. The information gained should be used to reduce the risk factors leading to drug dependency among children and adolescents at risk. A further aim is to monitor and compare the effectiveness of measures trying to prevent drug dependency in various cities. Once this basic project has been built up, long-term monitoring will be extended to local health providers and establishments collecting social data. A large data bank of anonymous information will then be accessible referring to local trends in young people's drug consumption.

Doris Pleiger will present experiences gained in a model program in Rostock. The program is developing preventive measures for deviant behaviour among children and adolescents. The main goal of this three-year prevention program is to make the police, the courts and the youth welfare services more aware than before that they have a common problem, and that problem is: delinquent youths. That is why a comprehensive and long-term work group has been founded as part of the model program, consisting of representatives from various decision-making bodies. This work group is a sub-group of the Rostock prevention council where, for instance, representatives of the police, the public prosecutor's office, the university's Faculty of Law, of schools and youth welfare facilities all work together. Communication processes among participants are given long-term assessments. Work group members are directly supported by the prevention council, and they are practising new forms of inter-departmental communication. The documentation of these processes is expected to give deeper insights into conflicts that occur repeatedly, and the work group will make suggestions for solving these conflicts.

Maria Pannebakker will describe the project 'Community Networks' in the Netherlands. The project consists of professionals from various institutions who cooperate at national and local levels in their (almost) daily dealings with children and parents. These networks have to attend to all kinds of educational problems in a very practical way, e.g. child abuse. Doctors, teachers, nurses, social workers and other professionals discuss the problems of certain children and their family situation. The cooperation of various institutions makes it possible to collect information about families and children and to determine and take measures against social and educational problems at an early stage. It is an important task of Community Networks to tackle child abuse and delinquent behaviour with preventive measures.

Wiebke Steffen and Erich Elsner will look at the results of a long-term study concerned with the delinquent careers of about 900 youths registered by the police in Munich for various offences. Monitoring was done for five years by the Bavarian State Police. They investigated the extent, development, forms

and individual cases of registered juvenile delinquency. Some of the results show the usefulness of such investigations, because they correct widespread opinions about juvenile delinquency and its origins. For example, in contrast to a frequently expressed opinion, shoplifting as an initial crime clearly does not justify the general prognosis of a delinquent career. Along with results, prevention and intervention measures will be described that were carried out wherever delinquent behaviour of youths occurred. Consequences and further important measures will also be discussed.

Frits Vlek expresses the opinion that the development of national standards will help to improve the quality and comparability of the information collected and that the introduction of standardized instruments will provide a much better and more solid basis for effective prevention of juvenile delinquency. He also thinks, however, that to improve the quality of information exchange among all the institutions working with children, much more is required than a standardized language and conclusive registration processes. Above all, a rigorous reorganization and improvement of information policy is required in all participating organizations. To achieve that, inner-institutional principles have to be changed fundamentally and a problem- and result-oriented approach must be attempted. Moreover, new instruments must be developed, tested and applied, so that more conclusive, reliable and comparable information can be gained about the content/extent as well as the development of deviant behaviour and juvenile delinquency. Their relation to such factors as age, sex, ethnic background, socio-economic position and other potential risk factors must be examined, as well. Promising (new) instruments in the field of (quantitative) information gathering are: extensive studies among specific age and risk groups who give information about themselves; the recently developed Dutch (judicial) system of client follow-up; a more sophisticated application and integration of data coming from various key organizations such as the police.

5.2 Legislation in the Netherlands and Germany on Data Collection Related to Children and Young People for the Planning of (Preventive) Child Care Services.

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This contribution informs upon current legislation in the Netherlands as well as in Germany – relating to the following subjects:

- 1 planning of child and youth welfare and care provision and of preventive provision on juvenile delinquency at (national, provincial and local) government level;
- 2 information services of bodies working with children and young people and data collection on children and juvenile delinquency;
- 3 inter-agency cooperation in the field of children and young people.

It will be discussed what legislation stipulates on these subjects, on the one hand particularly in the Dutch 1989 Child Care Act (*Wet op de Jeugdhulpverlening*) and the 1994 Welfare Act (*Welzijnswet*), and, on the other hand, in the German 1991 Child and Youth Care Act (*Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz*). Comparison of these Acts, which all concern child and youth care and prevention, shows there to be some striking similarities but also interesting differences. Unfortunately, I cannot now dwell upon all similarities and differences, but have to restrict to the subjects raised. But, before doing so, the organisation of (preventive) child care provision in Germany and the Netherlands will be briefly clarified

1 The Organisation of (Preventive) Child Care Services

Child & youth care and prevention are differently organised in the Netherlands and Germany. Most Dutch providers of these services represent so-called private initiatives, not for profit and belonging to the voluntary (tertiary) sector. Amongst the exceptions are eight state institutions for judicial child protection particularly accommodating juveniles who encountered the juvenile criminal law.

Also in Germany child & youth care practitioners belong for a large part to the voluntary sector (freie Jugendhilfe), but many others, in contrast to the Netherlands, to public child care and protection departments (called local, regional or federal state Jugendämter), which play a great role in the German child and youth service system.

The Acts in the Netherlands and Germany apply to both statutory and voluntary non profit making child provision. But the main difference is that the Dutch Act is rather focussed on the organisation, planning and contents of voluntary, privately initiated, services, whereas the German Act is more aimed at statutory duties and responsibilities of the public child care offices.

2 Planning of Child Care (Including Secondary and Tertiary Preventive Services) and Planning of Youth Crime Prevention at National, Provincial and Local Government Level

The Dutch as well as the German Act contain several imperatives for the various governments to draw up plans for child and youth care and welfare services and youth crime prevention.

The Dutch Act obliges not only the provinces but also central government to draw up four-year and one-year plans to fund welfare support organisations, national child care facilities, and experiments. As for the planning of preventive services, including those related to juvenile delinquency, they are the discretion of central government as far as experiments of national significance are concerned. Local government is responsible for funding local welfare provision and preventive facilities intended to all children in the municipality, including young offenders, but has no further obligation to draw up plans on these services.

In short: the Dutch Act contains planning directives with regard to child care and welfare, as well as experiments, and youth crime-related preventive services.

Also German Law, particularly in the Child Care Act (Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz), contains several provisions relating to child care and prevention policy. The statutory child care and youth work agencies in Germany hold overall responsibilities to implement and to plan the provisions of the Act. Government shall ensure timely, adequate and suitable accommodation, services and programmes to meet the requirements of the law, including that of youth crime prevention, based on the various principles of education and upbringing.

A major stipulation in the German Act is government's statutory duty to ensure inter-agency and supra-regional coordination and planning of child services and to cover the needs and interests of young people and their families. There are also Dutch developments to mutually accommodate different plans.

In contrast with the Dutch Act, the planning under the German Act takes also other child-related fields into consideration such as education, housing and employment.

3 Information Services of Organisations Working with Children and Young People and Data Collection on Child and Youth Crime

In Germany as well as in the Netherlands policymakers in the child's welfare field are to involve practitioners. The objective is to obtain sufficient information for proper planning of these services. To generally increase youth information German government is to provide the recognised agencies with access to its activity planning from early on and at all stages. Also, in the Netherlands the Act obliges government to consult with the voluntary organisations as regards well-planned child and youth services.

The Dutch Act requires not only general consultation between statutory and voluntary bodies on child welfare, but also a detailed information service of the latter to central government for the planning of service provision. Evidence is concerned on children already being served by these organisations. The German Act contains fairly comprehensive regulations of data collecting, processing, applying and storing on young people who are in touch with a public child care office or voluntary organisation.

The Dutch as well as the German Act govern data provision by child care organisations and data collection by governments. But the monitoring systems under current legislation focus especially on children and young people already in care or receiving services. Sound planning of youth crime prevention requires also evidence of troubled youth outside this circuit. Growing awareness of the indispensability of a coherent and comprehensive picture of the young for the planning of preventive services triggers the exploration of new ways to find and cluster all information needed. One of these ways is local or regional networking and cooperation amongst various agencies concerned with children and young people and trying to gather as much information on them as possible.

An example in this context is the plan of provincial and local authorities and police, care, prevention and other services in the Dutch province of Friesland. They intend incorporating parts of their organisations into one organisational

and all-encompassing 'building' to jointly collect and compile data on youth services and crime. It is the wish of the government to use this – more complete – information for the planning of child care and preventive services, including those related to juvenile delinquency.

4 Inter-Agency Child and Youth Care Cooperation

An important objective in the Dutch as well as the German Act is cooperation between agencies and organisations working with children and young people. The Dutch Act stipulates that the provinces determine the regions within which child care organisations are to cooperate. Every region is obliged by law to have an alliance as a cooperation forum and legal body for all child and youth service providers of its voluntary sector. In this forum representatives of each type of provision are participating.

Unfortunately, the Dutch Act only governs regional alliances of child and youth services and no local ones. Local inter-agency preventive services are developed from the networks mentioned before that are emerging in several locations. Practice in some regions also shows cooperation developing between local prevention and regional care organisations, the province Friesland example of which I have already pointed at. Local, provincial and central service providers as well as the authorities involved acknowledge the necessity of cooperation between national and provincial child care organisations and local (preventive) services. But this is not (yet) compulsory by law.

Unlike the Netherlands, Germany has no legal obligation for organisations of the voluntary sector in the child care field to work together. Organisations of the statutory sector do have this obligation to cooperate with each other and with organisations of the voluntary sector. Further, the public child services in Germany do have the legal obligation to cooperate with other bodies concerned with the environment of children, young adults and their families.

5.3 Claim and Reality - Planning Youth Welfare Services in Germany

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When the Youth Welfare Act (Jugendwohlfahrtgesetz = JWG) was replaced by the Child and Youth Services Act (Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz =KJHG) in 1991, a professional change of direction took place in youth services with regard to the following central ideas: "Strengthening competencies instead of reducing deficiencies", "Integrating young people instead of segregating them", "Including young people in decision-making processes instead of patronizing them", "Being oriented towards the social environment rather than isolated cases" and, last but not least, "Preventing deviant behaviour instead of reacting to it" (cf. Dettling 1990: 84f). The concept of prevention is clearly expressed in the first paragraphs of the KJHG¹:

- 1 Youth welfare services should support young people in their individual and social development and help to prevent and/or reduce discrimination;
- 2 support and counsel parents, and other persons holding parental authority, in educational matters;
- 3 protect children and adolescents from danger and ensure their welfare;
- 4 help create or maintain positive life circumstances for young people and their families as well as an environment congenial to both.

According to the KJHG, municipal youth offices have the general responsibility for planning local youth welfare services. The need for planning is established through a legal commitment to youth services planning as laid down in ' 80 of the KJHG, and is undisputed in both professional and political circles. Youth services planning is expected: to take stock of existing facilities and services; to determine further medium-term needs in view of the wishes and interests of young people as well as persons having right of custody; to meet those needs by initiating projects in good time and with sufficient care; and beyond that, to ensure that even unforeseen needs can be met.

¹ In many respects, the KJHG in Germany is more than a law providing general guidelines; it embodies professional standards, and its function is clearly to direct the activities of Youth Offices. Moreover, there is hardly any specialist literature that does not refer to the KJHG.

Youth services planning, seen as a negotiation process in order to determine what youth welfare services are desirable, necessary and payable, is a complex process in which the various interests of addressees, specialists, youth authorities and political groups have to be kept in balance. Between addressees (i.e. children, adolescents and families) on the one hand, and youth service specialists on the other, the relevant questions are, first of all: "How good is what you can offer us?", "What do we want and what are you capable of achieving?", "How helpful is your help?", "How accessible are you and how acceptable is your work?" Moreover, discussions among specialists of voluntary and statutory youth help agencies are expected to contribute to securing quality standards in modern youth welfare services. In a joint effort, these agencies must be prepared to accept difficulties and to change themselves in order to realize quality standards. Youth welfare specialists and political experts will have to negotiate structures, organizational forms and professional priorities. Finally, at the level of local government, the people in charge will have to examine their own priorities and make decisions about the financial resources required (cf. Schrappner 1996: 214).

Norms and Reality

Although youth services planning is grounded in law, planning is not (yet) really translated into practice everywhere. The number of youth offices involved in planning has increased over the last few years, but there are still about 17% of all youth offices that, until now, have developed no planning activities. Only 15% of all youth offices have complete youth service plans available, i.e. plans covering all service areas of youth work. The large majority of youth offices (67%) have merely partial plans at their disposal which, as a rule, refer only to the area of children's day care (cf. Seckinger/Weigel/Santen/Markert 1998: 137). This must be seen against the background of a law, in force since 1991, entitling every 3-to-6-year-old to a place in kindergarten (temporary regulation existed till the end of 1998). There is an urgent need for planning in both parts of Germany, since the supply of facilities for children in West Germany has not kept pace with demand for a long time and conversely, in East Germany, there has been a surplus of kindergarten places after reunification due to a sharp drop in the birth rate combined with a sufficient supply of facilities country-wide. It is mainly because of the current situation in child care that this service area has become a top-priority, if not exclusive, planning goal. All in all, youth services planning is mostly done by youth offices themselves (70%), whereas about 30% of youth offices delegate some of the planning to external parties.

Resources for Planning

The professional relevance attributed to youth services planning, as well as the legal obligation to establish it, have not yet led to a satisfying structural and organizational support of planning principles: only two thirds of youth offices working out youth help plans actually put their own personnel on the job. Another fifth of the personnel needed is recruited through governmental job creation schemes and is available for planning purposes in a restricted sense only. Financial resources, as well, leave a lot to be desired: e.g. 40% of youth offices doing youth services planning are not allocated any additional funds for this purpose. Typical for the scarcity of funds in youth office budgets is the fact that, even where an account for office expenses related to internal planning does exist, not more than DM 3,300 have, on average, been allocated.

Analysis of the Social Environment

A sophisticated analysis of the social environment in question is a first step towards needs- and environment-oriented youth services planning. A continuous analysis of local environments is absolutely necessary, particularly in view of the fact that social problems and changes become virulent in small local areas, thus often influencing the living conditions and social integration processes of young people severely. In this context, analyses of the social environment are to be seen, above all, as a contribution to getting closer to clients and to achieving objectives in youth services planning more accurately (Merchel 1994: 77). Analysis of the social environment also can support active and environment-oriented youth work in such a way that individual cases and symptoms are no longer at the centre of attention; instead, youth services should take into consideration the objective conditions of individual lifestyles, examine their interrelations and include them in their strategies (Jordan & Schone 1992: 159). It follows that, without sophisticated analyses of the social environment, disparities in youth services cannot be identified; nor can service- and environment-oriented concepts of local youth work be fully realized.

A lot of time and personnel is required if the focus is to be on small local areas and client-orientation. Against this background, it is not surprising that two thirds of youth offices do not include analyses of the social environment in their planning. In summary, one can say that analyses of the social environment are mainly worked out by youth offices in larger cities. It can be assumed that planning there is done by cooperative youth services staff from various districts

The fact that local authorities are responsible for youth services and youth services planning has the advantage of their being firmly established in the local environment. On the other hand, that also implies a fragmentation of resources and (planning) knowledge. Moreover, analyses of the social environment are often made more difficult because there are not enough data available. Data are difficult to obtain, because at the "Kreis" level of planning, some municipalities deliberately drop out; files are kept poorly and are not always suitable for continuing process analyses; data are not available for small areas; or social indicators are rarely used beyond sheer needs approximations and benefit calculations (cf. Schneider/Johrendt 1994: 267).

Youth Services Planning and the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

Hardly ever has the prevention of juvenile delinquency been an explicit part of youth services planning. I believe there are two main reasons for this fact: the first one relates to underdeveloped methodological skills in structuring planning processes as well as a lack of resources in local Youth Offices (as described above); another reason is a tendency we often come across in field work: namely, to prefer service-range-oriented planning to target-group-oriented planning (cf. Wallner 1997 for the aspect of gender related planning). Both reasons cannot be seen independently of each other. In planning guides (cf. Jordan & Schone 1992, for instance), it is considered as an advantage that an overall concept for service-range-oriented planning does not have to be available from the start: in the context of this approach, individual areas of work are planned separately and then, gradually, included in a comprehensive plan. The fact that administrative and professional structures/units as well as youth service resources in personnel and equipment are close at hand, is considered to be another advantage of this approach.

The structure of the KJHG (Child and Youth Services Act) as a detailed kind of performance guide for Youth Offices, as well as the output-oriented approach recommended by the New Public Management, must also be seen in connection with the prevailing service-range orientation of planning. References to urgently required target-group orientations can be found in the KJHG, and regulations implementing it regionally, only with regard to the sexes and to foreigners. Delinquent children and adolescents are not identified as a specific target group of youth welfare services.

The disadvantage of service-range-oriented planning is its conservative structure in that it picks up the thread of a community's existing institutions and

services and favours only those innovative ideas that are closely connected to existing developments and perspectives. This kind of approach also involves the risk of youth welfare services being parcelled out and of problems being considered predominantly from an organizational (institutional) point of view (cf. Jordan & Schone 1992: page 42).

With regard to delinquency prevention, the disadvantages of service-range-oriented planning give a fairly accurate picture of existing deficiencies in youth services planning, but also show up some of the requirements and necessities that make it function properly in this field. In this situation, and considering the fact that the general public pays great attention to the topic of juvenile delinquency, it does not come as a surprise that the police often appear as the custodians of law, rather than youth welfare services playing their role as the driving force behind efforts to prevent juvenile delinquency.

If we consider, moreover, that delinquent children and adolescents, whose delinquency cannot be interpreted as an age-specific behaviour, find themselves in life circumstances characterized, in the widest sense, by economic and/or social deficiencies – then it becomes clear that juvenile delinquency prevention is primarily a task of youth welfare services, though other institutions must indeed be involved. This is all the more true as local youth welfare services define themselves in terms of their responsibility to establish and preserve positive living conditions.

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5.4 Monitoring Juvenile Crime and Youth at Risk: Improved Information Position as a Precondition for Effective Prevention

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1 Introduction

Youngsters in general and youngsters 'at risk' in particular have recently been rediscovered as a subject of genuine concern for government and society. Juvenile delinquency and deviant behaviour are recognised as a rapidly growing problem, society has to address to in an more systematic and sophisticated manner.

Recent Dutch data about the amount and nature of juvenile crime show some very disturbing trends: juvenile crime is committed on a younger age, with increasing involvement of girls; violent crime is on the rise and a disproportionate part of juvenile crime is (since long) committed by specific ethnic groups, particularly Moroccan youngsters. Another recent study shows that poor social integration on both family and personal level provides a fertile soil for a criminal career and/or a history of alcohol- and drug abuse. It underlines that specific circumstances and behaviour patterns are valid indicators or even predictors of a later criminal career.

It is a well established 'fact' that the 20-80 rule is applicable in the sense that approximately 20% of youngsters at risk, most of them with serious behavioural deficiencies, account for 80% of juvenile crime and that particularly this group has proved 'therapy-resistant'. Which means that no intervention strategy, of whatever nature, has proved successful in keeping them off their criminal or addiction careers, once it is an established pattern.

The implication is that early detection and intervention become of utmost importance. Yet in practise most agencies and their preventive programs focus on the main stream of youngsters who have no serious behavioural deficiencies and who's problematic behaviour is part of their maturing of a temporary nature.

The before-mentioned and other studies show that the criminal career of these youngsters often starts at a very young age and can be forecasted (to a certain extend!) in view of some particular significant behavioural and circum-

stantial 'cues'. But, apart from the obvious methodological problems of forecasting and avoiding type one and two errors, most institutions lack the understanding and acknowledgement of these processes or the ability to transform them into effective action.

As a result early symptoms of serious behavioural deficiencies are often neglected and actual intervention will often be absent till harsh, judicial repression is left as the only 'effective' societal response.

It is necessary therefore that relevant institutions, whether governmental or non-governmental, redesign their policies and develop new preventive strategies. Which should be aimed at improving unfavourable conditions on an individual, family, (ethnic) group or geographical level on the one hand and at early detection and intervention with regard to specific youngsters at risk on the other.

To achieve that three vital preconditions must be met, which will be discussed in more detail in this paper. At first a drastic improvement of the information-position of all institutions and organisations involved with youngsters at risk as a prerequisite for a more effective, professional performance. Secondly a more systematic and more structured inter-agency co-operation of all partners in the chain of prevention and repression of juvenile crime as a prerequisite for an integral policy, in which prevention and repression are well-balanced. And thirdly, the development and implementation of new information instruments and systems as managerial tools for improving both intra-agency performance and inter agency co-operation.

2 Improving the Organisational Information-Position

Common sense tells us that the least that might be expected from professional Assistance or Enforcement agencies is that they know what they do, why they do it and what changes they expect as a result of their interventions, whether or not of a preventive nature.

Yet in practise the information household of most organisations involved with youngsters at risk shows serious deficiencies, resulting in a structural inability in answering these three vital questions:

- who are my clients or potential clients and client groups;
- how well do I succeed in reaching my clients or groups at risk;
- and how effective are my intervention strategies, whether of a more repressive or preventive nature.

Defining and Identifying (Potential) Clients or Client-Groups

Knowing your (potential) clients may seem one of the basic rules of professionalise of/for professional Youth-assistance as well as Enforcement agencies. When one travels and arrives in an unknown town, the first thing one would ask for is a map. Yet in practise most organisations have restricted, fragmented knowledge and view of the whole of their potential clients, partly due to the fact that relevant knowledge and information is often 'stored' in the heads of individual co-workers/members who all have their own mapping system.

Early detection and intervention however asks for systematic scanning and screening of the agencies environment. That requires reliable and valid measurement-instruments and -procedures on the one hand and thorough knowledge and understanding of potential risk groups and their sociol-economic, ethnic and demographic backgrounds on the other hand.

It also requires both theoretical and empirical knowledge and understanding of specific 'cues' of serious behavioural deficiencies that forecast a criminal and/or abusive career. Predictive behavioural indicators of an expanding criminal or abusive career can be found in (the combined prevalence of) such factors as poor school performance and truant behaviour, the frequency and nature of police contacts and early alcohol and /or drug abuse.

Reaching (out to) Clients and Client Groups and Admitting them to Programs

Knowing your (potential) clients is one thing, successfully reaching them is another. As stated before most intervention strategies and programs focus on main stream youngsters who are easy accessible. To reach out, at an early stage, to youngsters, families or groups at risk, requires people with specific skills, who understand their social backgrounds and neighbourhoods and who speak their language. The kind of skills and attitudes that professionals with an academic background often lack. In the Netherlands there is a renewed understanding of its importance which has led to a revival of the phenomenon of the street-corner worker.

Different clients or client-groups moreover require a different approach. General knowledge has to be applied and translated in measure-made prevention or intervention. Admitting clients to programs demands for a set of suitable admission-criteria. In practise too many clients are selected depending how much they fit to a program, in stead of the opposite way. Needless to say that admission criteria should meet the requirements of transparency and validity. That presupposes thorough problem-analyses regarding the specific nature and backgrounds of the clients problem behaviour. Besides it preferably requires knowledge and information about similar policies or programs of rele-

vant sister-agencies, who may have (faced) the same questions and problems and may already have come up with some useful answers, solutions or experiences.

Setting (Standards for) Effective Prevention and Intervention Programs and Evaluating the Success and Effects of Programs

Evaluating programs demands for clear goal-defining in the first place. And the quality and transparency of goal-setting depends on the quality of what is generally called the policy-theory: the set of implicit or explicit hypothesis and suppositions about goal-means relationships. The more solid the theoretical and empirical basis of a program, the greater the chance that its goals are both clear and realistic.

Another cornerstone of program- and performance evaluation is of course the availability of clear performance and success-criteria and reliable and valid instruments to measure them. This not only concerns the intra-organisational application of professional quality and efficacy standards but it also involves the systematic gathering of knowledge and information about the efforts and relative performance of relevant other organisations, operating at home or abroad.

As long as these requirements are not met, Youth-Assistance as well as Enforcement agencies are doomed to '(re-) inventing the wheel' over and again. Another consequence being that national institutions, who are eager to improve organisational policies or to evaluate the costs and benefits of large scale projects they subsidise, lack the information that is needed to establish the success of their policy or to identify good and best practises. As a result governmental stimulating policies become, so to speak, a shot in the dark and organisational policies and programs, games for believers

Improving the information position of all institutions in the chain of preventing and repressing juvenile crime therefore involves much more than acquiring unity of language and coherent registration procedures in order to facilitate inter-agency information exchange.

It requires above all a fundamental reorientation and transformation of the organisational culture and its internal and external policies towards a more problem-oriented and output- and outcome- directed approach. A problem-oriented approach as explained before presupposes thorough problem-analyses based on the systematic scanning and screening of potential clients and client groups. An output- and outcome-directed policy requires transparency and clear performance criteria and systematic performance- and effect evaluation.

Autonomous professionals however tend to swear by their own unique skills and strategies. By tradition and nature Youth Assistance as well as Enforcement agencies develop an organisational culture of professional autonomy that is very reluctant in making their work subject to a systematic policy of (hierarchical or external) steering and control. As a consequence no priority is given to the development and implementation of quality standards and performance criteria nor to systematic performance evaluation. It is astonishing to see, over the years, that this pattern serves such different institutions as the Police and the Public prosecution on the one hand and Youth-assistance and Alcohol- and Drug-addiction organisations on the other hand.

However the lack of a commercial basis makes Youth-assistance as well as Enforcement-agencies (in general) more or less insensitive for the 'incentives of the market' to (im-)prove cost-effectiveness. The fundamental organisational and cultural change that is required in order to drastically improve the organisational information household, will therefore not occur spontaneously if it is left entirely to the initiative and responsibility of institutions involved. So a different stimulus is needed, another source of external pressure must be created. Since most of these institutions depend largely on governmental, central or local, funding it implies that fundamental change can only be imposed by the same central or local governments, or government-related health insurance companies who fund these agencies.

An effective tool for external (governmental) induced organisational change is a wise combination of formal regulation and sanctioning on the one hand and (financial) facilitation and professional support on the other hand. Formal regulation can imply that the funding of these organisations must, at least partly, be made conditional on – measurable – improved professional performance and cost-effectiveness. Facilitation is another key-element particularly when it comes to the development, standardisation and implementation of valid and reliable scanning- and screening instruments, (national) quality and performance standards and instruments to measure them.

Standardisation (on a national or local level) can be a very powerful tool not only for the purpose of acquiring unity of language and thus comparability of data but also as a part of a strategy of acquiring more qualified and valid data. Standardisation is therefore both a means and an end of a governmental policy that is aimed on improving intra-agencies performances as well as inter-agency co-operation.

3 Integration of Policy and Inter-Agency Cooperation

Effective prevention of juvenile crime cannot be achieved by organisations single handed. Preventing and repressing juvenile crime is a joint responsibility of all partners in the chain, starting with early child- and family care and ending with judicial enforcement and punishment. More structured and structural inter-agency co-operation is particularly crucial when it comes to early detection and effective intervention of youngsters who are at the beginning of developing a criminal career.

As stated before, these youngsters at risk, whether it concerns individuals or (ethnic) groups, are rarely 'spotted' at an early stage. And when it happens, chances are high that no follow up is realised, neither within individual organisations when information has to be passed on to or follow-up action to be undertaken by a different level, nor between organisations when follow-up action has to be undertaken by the next partner in the chain.

To make inter-agency co-operation work and preferably a (lasting) success, a number of prerequisite conditions must be fulfilled. First of all the acknowledgement and recognition of its necessity and its benefits for all. Literature and long time experience show that acknowledgement largely depends on the following conditions:

- co-operation is needed for (economic) survival;
- co-operation provides a(n) clear (economic) win-win situation for all partners involved;
- co-operation is externally imposed by formal (governmental) regulation.

A second condition involves the necessity of unity of language, not only between the partners in the chain but certainly also within larger organisations (such as the police with its decentralised organisation of semi-autonomous regional forces) as well.

The before mentioned deficiencies in the information household of organisations involved with youngsters at risk, becomes particularly apparent in the course of inter-agency co-operation. That often starts – and sometimes is bound to break down prematurely – with the exchange of information. At that point participants become aware that they are interested in (basically) the same target groups and in the same information about their magnitude and whereabouts and also how insufficient their own information (position) is. Moreover they will become aware that, so far as systematic information about (potential) clients or client groups is available, it is hardly comparable and to make it comparable, huge and very man consuming and therefore costly methods must be applied.

More unity in data-definition and registration-procedures is absolutely imperative when it comes to improving the information position of all partners as a joint responsibility in the interest of successful inter-agency co-operation.

But acknowledgement and unity of language, how essential they may be, are not enough. Experience in many areas shows that lasting inter-agency co-operation demands for a director: an institution or organisation that has (been granted) the authority and competence to impose joint initiatives and terms of co-operation partners agreed upon.

Moreover a 'project champion' is needed who is willing and able to do the 'dirty work' meaning putting a lot of effort in making things work and bringing and keeping the right people together in a team. And to make joint initiatives work, they should preferably start with small-scale, well designed projects, with high chances of success. Nothing sells better than success.

More structural and structured inter-agency co-operation cannot be achieved overnight. It requires a growing process with a number of consecutive steps that can be passed through: getting to know each other: knowing members, goals, cultures and procedures; exchanging information: about clients and target groups, programs and experiences engaging in joint initiatives: regarding the development and implementation of scanning and screening instruments and procedures, the set up and evaluation of programs, the development and implementation of performance standards and the instruments to measure them etc.

One should always keep in mind however the fundamental dilemma of more structural inter-agency co-operation: the more inter-agency co-operation is a success the more it will become a threat for each agency's institutional and professional autonomy and as a consequence will evoke resistance.

4 New Instruments and Systems

As stated before, improving the information position of organisations involved with youngsters at risk requires a drastic change of the entire information household of all partners in the chain. Eventually this can only be successfully achieved by a fundamental reorientation within relevant agencies towards a more problem-directed and result-oriented policy.

The implication is a process of fundamental organisational and cultural change, that can be stimulated and facilitated not only by increasing inter-agency co-operation, and its immanent pressure towards unity of language, but also by the development and implementation of a new generation of scanning and screening instruments. Reliable and valid scanning and screening instruments are essential for the purpose of systematically monitoring potential risk groups and risk behaviour and the early detection of individuals and groups at risk. Having agencies actively participating in this process of developing and implementing new instruments will help them to become more responsive towards structural deficiencies in their own information household

and to put more effort in improving existing information systems, the quality of data bases, data-definition and -registration procedures.

In both the before-mentioned areas some promising developments can be seen in my country. First of all the development and implementation of a complete range of self-report instruments to be applied on different (national, local) levels and in relation to different target groups such as schools, communities or specific risk groups. Secondly the newly developed Dutch (judicial) client-follow-up system, which is aimed at improving inter-agency co-operation and information exchange within the judicial system. And thirdly a number of local initiatives aimed at the improving the (joint) information position of all relevant partners in the chain by means of standardisation of data definition and registration with regard to a limited number of key-variables.

Self Report Studies

Self-report studies are a promising new breed of scanning and screening instruments that have become very popular, particularly for the purpose of monitoring youngsters in different stages of their lives. Self-report studies, like other large scale population surveys, are primarily developed as an additional source of information about (potential) 'clients' of governmental institutions such as: victims and offenders of crime, alcohol-, gamble- and drug addicts, and others at risk.

The purpose of large scale surveying by means of self report studies is often threefold:

- scanning and screening the nature and amount of risky, unhealthy or criminal behaviour and spotting risk groups;
- trend-monitoring the development (in time) of risky, unhealthy or criminal behaviour;
- evaluating the eventual effects of (non-)governmental prevention and intervention policies.

In my country self report instruments have become fairly popular in many areas of research and governmental policy regarding youngsters at risk, which has resulted in the development of a broad scale of instruments. Some of the most promising in this respect are:

- the national scholar's survey, aimed at a broad range of risky and health behaviour;
- the Rotterdam health monitor, aimed at roughly the same subjects but also developed as a tool for intervention and prevention programs on and by schools;

- several other instruments aimed at offensive or criminal behaviour of children, adolescents or specific target groups (youth-gangs etc.)

Currently the national government has taken the initiative to explore the possibility of a national standard and design for monitoring youngsters in general and youngsters at risk in particular by means of, among other instruments, self report studies. Needless to say that this has to be done in close collaboration with all relevant institutions, national and local.

The Client-Follow-System (CFS)

The CFS is an information system in the nature of a ware-house in which information is (to be) stored and made accessible about the movements of juvenile delinquents through the criminal prosecution system. The CFS should provide a useful tool for the agencies involved (i.e. the regional Police Forces, Public Prosecution and 'Council for Child Protection'), not only for the purpose of exchanging information but also for the purpose of stimulating the agencies to improve their diagnostic competence. Police officers for instance, when confronted with problematic behaviour of youngsters, find themselves often in the position of having to decide what to do next: fine them, hand them over to the Public Prosecution or confine to a warning. Having adequate information (available) about a persons (judicial) record, is of course of vital importance when it comes to professionalizing this 'triage' by individual police officers. Therefore, designing and implementing such a system should by definition be both the aim and subject of inter-agency co-operation.

The benefit and necessity of such a system was at first established by an national committee on juvenile crime (prevention) and the process of designing and implementing subsequently adopted by the ministry of Justice. Who unfortunately made the mistake of choosing a top-down implementation strategy, involving the development of one national system that subsequently should be implemented nation-wide.

However, in order to make any (new) information system work, either as a prerequisite or a consequence of inter-agency co-operation, acceptance and acknowledgement by the agencies involved is crucial. And that will only be the case if these agencies are closely involved in the process of designing and implementing such a system as well as the procedures to feed it and to use it.

It is an old misconception that implementing new information systems can act as a 'crowbar' for organisational change. In fact, the only effective way is having them, the workers who will have to use and to feed it, co-designing and developing a system or an instrument they believe in. Which of course can only be a system that 'fits' as closely as possible dominant organisational cultures, policies and procedures.

A good example of a bottom-up process of developing a client-follow-system is what is currently being done in Rotterdam. They are building their own CFS as a joint-initiative of the three agencies before mentioned and with the police acting as the logical 'project champion'. Logical because the police will on the one hand benefit the most of such a system, in as far as it helps police officers in their daily practise of handling off juvenile offenders. On the other hand their information will be crucial for all further contacts and steps to be made by any partner in the chain or even a colleague in the same force later in time. Since the police will be in many cases the first institution juvenile offenders come into contact with, police officers will often act as the 'gateway' to either the judicial and prosecution system or the even the domain of youth-assistance.

(The above described origin and the subsequent process of designing and developing an adequate ware-house system illustrates and underlines some of the crucial prerequisites for successful inter-agency co-operation and information exchange that were mentioned before.)

Standardising Data-Definitions and Registration Procedures

A third promising development is the initiative of a number of local communities to improve inter-agency information exchange partly by standardisation of data-definitions and registrations with regard to a number of key-variables agreed upon and partly by subsequently publishing them regularly for the purpose of comparison between agencies, communities and between time-intervals. This is striven for in very down-to-earth processes in which practicality is the key issue and creating a win-win situation for all partners the primary incentive or motive. Which means that acquiring unity of language in data-definition and harmonisation of data-registration are both means and end of intensifying inter-agency co-operation. The final goal is twofold: defining a limited number of standardised key variables, of equal importance to all agencies involved, and thereby creating the possibility of combining essential data for the purpose of improving the joint information position with regard to specific clients or client groups. Needless to say that in doing so better conditions are also created for systematic program and success-evaluation.

This has of course a number of implications as well as complications regarding technical and definition problems on the one hand and judicial problems of privacy on the other. However, there is no legal objection when using and combining information regarding individual clients for the purpose of (problem) analyses and research as long as data are anonymous.

As said before: designing and implementing information systems as a tool for inter-agency co-operation and information exchange, should be both the aim and subject of inter-agency co-operation. The role the national govern-

ment has to play is that of a director and facilitator. Someone who provides the (financial) means and expertise to facilitate and stimulate local initiatives and sees to a clear and practical framework of (quality) standards and unity of language, necessary for nation wide comparability and analyses.

5 To Conclude

Effective prevention by early detection and intervention with regard to the real problem group of youngsters at risk, can only be accomplished by overcoming some of the structural deficiencies on the supply-side of the institutions involved and their information positions. What must be solved is the problem of great variety and dispersion of efforts on the one hand and of insufficient information positions on the other hand. Current practise lacks cohesion and balance in the chain from early detection an intervention to criminal investigation and prosecution. Moreover individual institutions have only very limited knowledge and understanding of their (potential) clients, the reach and efficacy of intervention programs and the knowledge, programs and relative performance of other relevant institutions.

Effective prevention of juvenile crime requires effective early detection and intervention as part of an integral approach in which pro-active and preventive action are balanced with more clear cut (judicial) repression. To achieve that, a number of prerequisite conditions must be met. First of all a drastic improvement of the (joint) information position of all agencies involved. Secondly a more structural and structured co-operation in a integrated network of all strategic partners in the chain of prevention and repression of juvenile crime.

It has been argued that improving the information position of all agencies in the chain of preventing and repressing juvenile crime requires more than acquiring unity of language between relevant agencies. Above all it demands a more fundamental re-orientation within agencies towards a more problem-oriented and result-directed policy. That implies a drastic organisational and cultural change, which cannot be achieved overnight nor by institutions all alone. It demands for governmental induced formal regulation on the one hand and adequate stimulation and facilitation on the other hand. In other words it asks for a national government or governmental institution to adopt the role of a director, who sees to it that prerequisite conditions are realised to improve intra-agencies performance and inter-agency co-operation.

Governmental regulation should amongst others regard the development and enforcement of (national) performance-and quality standards, the transparency and evaluation of intervention-programs and the nature and extend of

inter-agency co-operation as well as the unity of language required for that. Stimulation and facilitation must be aimed at overcoming structural deficiencies in the information position and the whole of the information household lying behind that of all partners in the chain of preventing and repressing juvenile crime. Improving the information position requires among others the development of adequate performance-criteria and measurement-instruments on the one hand and the development and standardisation of new scanning- and screening-instruments for the early detection and monitoring of (potential) clients and riskgroups on the other hand.

Effective tools the national government has at her disposal are besides the obvious budget-control and steering, initiating joint projects of national validation and standardisation.

Developing national standards will help to improve the quality and comparability of information gathered. Implementing standardised instruments on a larger and systematic scale will increase their practical and theoretical value and thereby create a much better and solid basis for effective prevention of juvenile crime on both a national and local level.

Moreover a new generation of instruments must be developed, validated and implemented in order to get more valid, reliable and comparable information. Not only with regard to the nature and magnitude as well as the trend-development of deviant behaviour and juvenile crime but also the pattern of (inter)relationships with age, sex, ethnic background, sociol-economic position and other potential risk factors or risk groups.

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5.5 Monitoring in Groningen and Bremen on a Local and International Level

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Monitoring social behaviour has been common practice in the Netherlands ever since the establishment of the Social Cultureel Planbureau in 1974. It enables policy makers to follow trends and developments in people's behaviour so that they have a basis for planning a social infrastructure.

In the seventies, data were gathered at a national level only. At that time, the national government was responsible for the planning and control of the social infrastructure at both the national and the local level. With that instrument, however, it was not possible to focus adequately on the local level. Two developments in the nineties led to the construction of a monitoring instrument that was attuned to the local level: firstly, the decentralisation of tasks from the national to the local level, in particular youth policy; and secondly, an extra financial impulse for the social and economic development of city areas. These two developments have strongly influenced the significance of youth policy at local level.

At local level, the possibility and challenge consist of making a better fit between the different initiatives that originate from different perspectives (health, education, welfare, care, income, contacts with police and the judiciary system); these initiatives have to be made to measure for the young people concerned. The main issue at local level is to construct and constantly improve an integral youth policy which connects general youth policy to preventive and youth care policy. The role of the local politicians responsible for youth policy is to indicate the direction to be taken, to get commitment from all partners (care, police, judiciary system) and to stimulate and support executives in carrying out their policy. A necessary condition for fulfilling that role sufficiently and effectively is that different professionals understand one another and 'speak one another's language'. In that respect, producing information that can be shared by local politicians and their partners and executives as a basic instrument in that process is an explicit task for local government. Another aspect is that, by monitoring, the local government can obtain information which accounts, to the national administration, for the expenditures entailed by that policy. This is of current interest in the 'Grote Stedenbeleid', a policy instru-

ment at national level to help larger cities financially in improving their economic and social position.

The Grote Stedenbeleid was introduced in order to help a total of 21 larger cities in coping with the enormous demands caused by the dynamics of city life in the nineties. An important issue within integral youth policy is 'Youth and Safety'. Youth criminality and (youth) victimisation are connected with feelings of insecurity which citizens in larger cities experience, and which have become an issue on the local agenda. The Grote Stedenbeleid (1994) has enabled the cities involved to stimulate their integral youth policy quite substantially.

Monitoring the situation at city level has become a condition for the Grote Stedenbeleid; it is to be used as an instrument to audit policy in relation to the status quo and the interventions made. A monitoring instrument, however, cannot be used to evaluate projects, but is a thermometer which can indicate whether there has been improvement, deterioration or no change.

Groningen

Starting in 1995, Groningen (one of the partners in the Grote Stedenbeleid), was one of the first cities to develop a local monitoring instrument. It was a local initiative, partly financed by the Municipality of Groningen and partly sponsored by a national public-private partnership. The instrument covers the three domains between which young people shift constantly: family, school and leisure time. It consists of three parts: a questionnaire, interviews with key figures (including the youngsters themselves) and a database comparison of the local population register, police registration and judiciary registration. The questionnaire and the interviews monitor the behaviour of young people aged between 10 and 16 years on the following dimensions: family (status and quality), school (social position and experiences), friendship, health, lifestyle and criminality. Comparison of the different databases produces information about the dimension and the nature of crime committed by young people between 12 and 25 years of age in Groningen in 1994 and 1995.

The first Groningen monitoring study was published in the spring of 1997. Two developments have occurred since:

- 1 standardisation of a local monitoring instrument which makes it possible to compare the developments in the behaviour of youth between Dutch cities;
- 2 DDRAM: an international monitoring study in which, among others, Groningen and Bremen participate.

In the context of this paper I shall concentrate on the international monitoring study.

*DDRAM: Drug Dependence Risk and Monitoring,
from a Local to an International Monitoring
Study*

Of course, monitoring is not only interesting for the purposes of national and local policy. It can be a valuable instrument for comparison of developments at an international level as well. Obviously, at an international, European level, the conditions relevant to social behaviour are far more distinct. This makes comparison and exchange of knowledge, facts and policies especially valuable. However, the specific data available in different countries are often incomparable. An improvement has been made with the ESPAD study. This monitoring instrument is based on comparing data between countries. At city level, local influences can be taken into account, which makes comparison more specific. Monitoring local developments and comparing them internationally enlarges the awareness of the cultural environment in which they take place and can generate new solutions to problems already known in other cities.

In 1996, five cities (Groningen, Bremen, Newcastle, Dublin and Rome) proposed a comparative monitoring study on youth at risk, following a working conference on drug policy at local level, using a common data set. The study 'aimed to refine the understanding of antecedents of risky behaviour and the identification of young people risking drug dependence, and to monitor trends in the use of illegal drugs and other addictive substances among young people – this with a view to informing a European collaborative prevention programme aimed at youth at risk'.

The research proposal was granted by the European Commission in 1996 and started in December 1996. The project will be completed in the summer of 1998.

The DDRAM monitoring study has a multi-disciplinary character and consists of a sociological, a psychological and a psychiatric perspective and links these both to clinical practice and to city policy.

The age groups monitored in the DDRAM study are confined to 10- and 14-year-Olds.

Part of the study consists of monitoring (14-year-Olds), another part is longitudinal comparison (10-year-Olds). The aim of the study is to look at risk factors and protective factors relevant to deviant behaviour (including drug taking) in each city, taking into consideration sociol-economic background, cultural background, and personal behaviour in relation to parental styles.

The final DDRAM instrument consists of three parts:

- 1 a core questionnaire for the 14-year-Olds. Each city has been at liberty to add their own questions to this core;
- 2 for the 10-year-Olds the core consists of a parent interview. Since the DDRAM study is particularly interested in risk factors as well as protective factors relevant to future risky behaviour, the parents of children with a low- and with a high-risk profile were asked to be interviewed;
- 3 a sociometric instrument to measure popularity in class.

These three instruments collectively provide much information on both the social and the personal functioning of 10-year-old children. A follow-up will be necessary to make the connection between circumstances of behaviour at the age of ten and future behaviour.

For Groningen it is important that the data from the DDRAM study can be compared with the previous Groningen monitoring study. Therefore the Groningen DDRAM questionnaire is a compilation of the DDRAM core and questions from the previous Groningen questionnaire that are not in the DDRAM core. For the 10-year-Olds, in addition to the DDRAM core instrument, a shorter version of the Groningen questionnaire has been used.

Practical Implementation of the Knowledge Derived from Monitoring in Groningen so far

The first monitoring project in Groningen has had great value for the development of youth policy. It has been a guideline for the Groningen integral youth policy, including the development of specific 'Youth and Safety' programmes concerning prevention of youth criminality in the family, in school and in leisure time. The monitoring study has contributed to the discussion about drugs in and around school, truancy and the value of a good school climate in general. It has pointed out that the transition from childhood to puberty now coincides with the transition from primary school to secondary school. At the same time, the influence of peer relations increases significantly. In this climate, an experiment with drug taking at the age of 12/13 is no longer exceptional. Another factor is the growing participation of women on the labour market, which has consequences for the arrangement of education and care facilities. This knowledge is, of course, not typical only for Groningen; these processes take place on a wider level. This general knowledge is useful as a framework for the local data. The monitor provided more specific knowledge about the behaviour of pupils at school level, the level of unemployment within Groningen families

in relation to the general figure of unemployment in the town as a whole, the habits of pupils in various schools, and youth criminality in Groningen (a profile of offenders, according to age, sex, ethnic background, the districts where they live, where they commit their offences, their judicial records, could be made by connecting different databases on an aggregated level).

In Groningen, the presentation of the results has not taken place at school level in order to prevent schools with 'bad records' from becoming victims of a self-fulfilling prophecy. For them, the publication of research results per school can be traumatic in terms of public relations. The policy of the municipality so far has been to cultivate solidarity between schools and to make an issue of the school climate irrespective of the school type. At the same time it is important to look more closely at specific schools that have problems in coping with the behaviour of their pupils.

For Groningen the value of the DDRAM study is that we can exchange knowledge with other cities, obtain new knowledge and view the behaviour of our youth in a broader perspective.

Conditions for Monitoring

Monitoring implies a repetition of measuring the developments in behaviour every two or four years. Therefore, it is important to have political commitment to monitoring: from both a financial and a policy point of view. The climate is positive in the Netherlands at the moment, although it is important to show the schools the direct usefulness of monitoring. Also schools should not suffer from being over-asked for information. Co-ordination of research is necessary. The DDRAM study has learned that the timing is also right in Germany. Schools were eager to participate. The Bremen researchers had not expected to get an enthusiastic response to their request to participate in the DDRAM study, for reasons of privacy and, again, the good name of the school could be affected. Nevertheless, the study turned out to be a success in terms of response. In Bremen, there was virtually no prior scientific knowledge about the behaviour of 14-year-old pupils when it comes to school experiences, leisure time experiences, drug taking and criminality. The situation with the 10-year-Olds seems to be more problematic, because of privacy and stigmatisation. This is the dilemma of research and prevention programmes. Knowledge of personal circumstances can influence one's behaviour towards the child concerned. It is a professional quality to state this dilemma, but also to solve it.

5.6 Crime-Preventive Councils: The Example of Rostock

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Since 1995, prevention councils have been established in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Representatives of various social groups and institutions discuss how crime prevention can be improved. In addition, a “juvenile delinquency” unit has been set up at police headquarters throughout the state. The results of these efforts, however, differ considerably from one region to another.

The prevention program of the Federal Ministry for Families, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, carried out since October 1997 in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – along with Berlin and Thuringia – intends to activate and/or intensify the existing resources of juvenile delinquency prevention. The main goal is to get youth welfare services and the police to see offences committed by young people as a problem they have in common: which they have not done sufficiently, so far. This approach would prevent both sides from persistently accusing each other, which limits everybody’s ability to act.

In Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the prevention program is carried out and evaluated by the “Rauhes Haus for Practical Social Work” as a model program in three regions, i.e. the administrative districts of Ludwigslust, Ostvorpommern and the city of Rostock. It starts at three levels: the regional level emphasizing local problems, the level of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern as a whole, and the national level in cooperation with the German Youth Institute (DJI).

The “Rauhes Haus” systematically promotes the cooperation between committees and administrations (prevention council, the courts, the police, the youth office and social workers involved in juvenile cases, among others) and supports local juvenile delinquency prevention through workshops and other kinds of further education. Another area of its activities is practical counselling to improve the cooperation among police, courts and youth welfare services, as well as accompanying diversion and offender-victim-compensation projects. Concrete tasks and work concepts of the “Rauhes Haus” in the three regions are coordinated with local prevention councils and the administrations/organizations represented therein.

Previous Prevention Strategies in Rostock

Prevention of crime or violence cannot be achieved in a community by engaging in short-term, once-only actions, but must be driven forward in many different ways. Since the beginning of the nineties, three federal programs have focussed on the prevention of crime and violence and have started from different levels. Rostock has been involved in all three, and preventive work there is influenced by the respective concepts.

Youth projects concerned with the prevention of violence were built up and expanded in Rostock in the context of an action program against aggression and violence (AgAg, 1992-1996; continued 1997/98 as a state program). At the same time, people involved in voluntary and public youth work got intensive training for the difficult job of coping with violent and violence-prone children and adolescents. More and more attention was given to the social context such youngsters lived in and to the cause-and-effect relation in crime and violence. Ideas for violence-preventive measures as an alternative stock of actions concerning young people were developed and tested. Thus, a first important basis for the prevention of violence was laid in Rostock.

Coordinating violence-preventive activities where they were actually needed came into focus more strongly in the context of the federal model project "Preventing and fighting violence in communities" (1995/96). Key words, impacting not just the youth welfare services, were openness, orientation towards city districts and the real world of young people, and above all, networking. Simultaneously, attention was drawn for the first time to factors that encourage crime and violence in communities. Questions concerning the development of city districts and their incomplete infrastructure were raised, and the problem of inter-departmental cooperation to use existing resources for violence prevention were discussed. Model projects were tried out.

With the prevention program currently in place (Developing the prevention of young people's delinquent behaviour, 1997-2000), Rostock is being put to the test as far as inter-departmental communication and cooperation is concerned. Rostock's prevention council is helping to carry out the program. The question is being examined to what extent the police, the courts, youth welfare services and schools see juvenile crimes and violence as a common problem; and whether the routines developed in each area of responsibility support, or rather hinder, the prevention of crimes and violence.

The Municipal Prevention Council of the Hanseatic City of Rostock

Rostock's prevention council was founded in 1994 under the patronage of the then mayor. It is now being run by the Senate's Environment Department. The coordinator's office of the prevention council is to be found here. It is only since the coordinator took up her work in 1996 that preventive efforts have started moving. The prevention council meets approximately every four to six weeks for about two hours. It includes senior staff from the police, the town clerk's office, the public prosecutor's office, the Faculty of Law/University of Rostock, the educational authority and the Senate Department for Youth, Health and Social Matters. Representatives of the handicapped, foreigners and equal rights groups also participate. The agenda for each meeting is planned by the coordinator, she sends out invitations and writes the minutes.

The successful work of the prevention council has not always been clearly visible to the general public. Therefore, its composition was queried by the City Parliament in the summer of 1998. Recommendations were given to include representatives from the business world, the Churches and the media. Since then, new members have been recruited, but the restructuring process and enlisting of personnel is still going on.

Goals of the Prevention Council

The municipal prevention council has established itself as an inter-departmental body to analyse and improve Rostock's subjective and objective security needs. Its activities focus on reducing, fighting and preventing crime and violence, in terms of both quantity and quality. Its goal is to exert a positive influence on the social climate of the city and to give citizens a better security feeling. It aims to provide more of a lobby for all those involved in Rostock's prevention efforts.

The prevention council functions mainly as a steering committee, looking for ideas about crime prevention and taking up/evaluating/developing projects. It has formal and informal functions. It emphasizes the coordination of many different activities and the information flow among its members, with the goal of installing a crime prevention network. The following is a list of individual tasks:

- coordinating and managing the joint efforts of institutions involved in crime prevention;
- exchanging information about prevention among institutions;
- working out proposals and recommendations for crime prevention;

- evaluating the feasibility and effectiveness of measures, proposals and projects concerning crime prevention;
- working out concepts for fighting and preventing crime on the basis of city district work and with the emphasis on content;
- working out short-, middle- and long-term strategies to reduce structures that trigger crime;
- drawing up a regional analysis, deriving measures from the analysis and seeing to it that they are put into practice;
- making press office work more effective with regard to prevention efforts in the Hanseatic city of Rostock.

(M. Schüler, report on where things stand in the work of the municipal prevention council in Rostock, 1997).

The goals developed jointly by the members of the prevention council are very ambitious. Consequently, expectations regarding its work run high.

Results up to now

1. A regional analysis on the geography of crime was started in 1995 and is still being worked on. The police, the town clerk's office and the Law Faculty of the Rostock University are contributors. The focus is on the analysis of police crime statistics and an empirical investigation of how safe people feel and how they become victims.

2. In the fall of 1997, a first "municipal seminar on drugs" took place under the joint management of police headquarters in Rostock and the municipal authority. Participants were employees of the municipal authority (mainly youth welfare services), police headquarters, the criminal prosecution authorities and representatives of the community's support systems.

One result was the establishment of a study group for "illegal drugs" under the auspices of the municipal prevention council. Their objective: Along with factual information about drugs and addiction relevant to different age groups, young people with their needs and problems must be the centre of attention. What matters is that they actively fashion their destinies, come to grips with everyday life, cope with frustration and learn to enjoy beautiful moments.

3. A "municipal security concept for the Hanseatic city of Rostock" was drawn up by members of the prevention council and laid before the house, following a parliamentary question in the summer of 1998. The coordinator of the preven-

tion council had overall control. The security concept emphasizes the following points:

- an assessment of the current situation;
- preventive youth and social work;
- improving housing conditions;
- helping to avoid offences against property;
- providing security for local public transport;
- fighting/preventing drug offences.

4. Since October 1997, the prevention program "Developing the prevention of juvenile delinquency" has been run by the Federal Ministry for Families, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth jointly with the Rostock prevention council. The program is trying to activate and/or intensify young people's own resources for crime prevention. The close cooperation with the Rostock prevention council began, when a survey was carried out internally among experts to find out where exactly crime prevention in Rostock was at. The survey was expected to give information about what the various institutions represented in the prevention council had done so far to prevent juvenile delinquency. It was also expected to find whatever traces there were of inter-departmental prevention procedures.

The survey showed that the topic of "Developing the prevention of juvenile delinquency in Rostock" had not been the main focus of the prevention council so far – with the exception of an agreed cooperation in difficult circumstances, as for instance in 1994/95, when problems with street children in Rostock escalated. The survey found out that the different points of view the police, the courts and youth welfare services held concerning the causes of juvenile delinquency and how to deal with it had not been systematically researched. In summary, one can say that inter-departmental concepts for prevention exist, but they need to be developed more strongly.

Evaluating the State of Crime Prevention in Rostock – Conclusions Drawn From an Internal Survey Among Experts

In the context of the federal prevention program "Developing juvenile delinquency prevention in Rostock", a first survey was carried out among experts in early 1998, i.e. when the cooperation between the "Rauhes Haus" and the Rostock prevention council began. (Two further surveys are being planned for 1999 and 2000.)

Members of the prevention council were interviewed as well as key personalities from the field of juvenile delinquency in Rostock.

During the survey evaluation, it was suggested that one of the responsibilities of the prevention council could be to research the development of juvenile delinquency more closely and to make it more transparent for the general public. In addition, an inter-departmental subgroup of the prevention council should be established with the goal of working on practical changes and systematically probing the strengths and weaknesses of communication/cooperation among the police, the courts and youth welfare services.

Meanwhile, an inter-departmental team "Juvenile Delinquency Prevention" has been established. It is managed by the "Rauhes Haus" and includes representatives of the police, the public prosecutor's office (juvenile cases), the district court (juvenile magistrate), schools, vocational colleges, the social services department, youth welfare services, social work in schools, social work in juvenile court cases, the probation service and one voluntary organization offering an offender-victim-compensation program. The team gets together once a month. Meetings, so far, have focussed on members' detailed presentations of their field of work and how it related to juvenile delinquency and its prevention. The aim is to filter out inter-departmental topics and to describe accurately what kind of communication and cooperation problems there are. For instance, in team members' reports dealing with schools, social work in schools, social work in juvenile court cases and the probation service, the question was frequently raised where the disintegration process of young people actually began. The fact was discussed that little is being done about prevention in the above fields. Some team members, therefore, have started looking more closely at case descriptions of serious offenders and recidivists in Rostock. The aim is to find out patterns of how young people get involved in offences of their first time and to pay close attention to the early reactions and interventions of the authorities.

This task is one of several of the team's projects. Their results are meant to lead to a catalogue of recommendations.

This documentation, because of the specialists involved, is expected to provide deeper insights into what could be recurrent conflicts, for which the team will suggest solutions. As to relations between the prevention council and the subgroup: the subgroup's task is to work out problem solutions and action strategies; the council's task is to open doors; their joint task is to ensure that new ideas about crime prevention are put into practice.

Some Concluding Remarks

Previous prevention work in Rostock can be seen as a program of several stages. At the first stage, the idea was to build up appropriate structures for young people that enable them to fashion their own lives in the community. Youth work employees were trained intensively to cope with violent and violence-prone youths. Concepts for violence-preventive measures were developed and tested.

At the second stage, the emphasis was on bringing together all the resources needed for violence-preventive activities. The key words were: openness, city-district-orientation and, above all, networking.

At the third stage of preventive work in Rostock, the current stage, inter-departmental communication and cooperation are on trial.

In summary, one can say that none of the measures and strategies mentioned are sufficient on their own to establish the prevention of violence in the community successfully and lastingly. The causes of violence in our society are too diverse and complex. Concepts have to be worked out at many levels, employing quite different means, methods and actions; whereas the goal is always the same: to prevent and to fight violence.

5.7 A Local Example of Youth Monitoring and National Trends in the Netherlands

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van Dijk, van Soomeren en Partner, Amsterdam

Van Dijk, van Soomeren and Partners in Amsterdam, Holland, a private company does a lot of research for many municipalities and for the national government like the department of Justice, the department for Health, Welfare and Sports and the ministry of the Interior. Among other subjects, we are specialised in youth and youth-related subjects. We do a lot of research into juvenile delinquency and to the efforts to prevent youngsters from getting involved in crimes. But not only 'problems of youth' and 'youngsters with problems' are subject of our activities. We are also involved in youth policy, both on a local and on a national level. Van Dijk, van Soomeren and Partners is working for the commission development of local preventive youth policy (in Dutch: OLPJ). We have the task to develop methods of local youth participation. Some examples of active participation that occur in Holland nowadays are:

- membership of and active involvement with youth organisations, participating in school councils and the like;
- active involvement of youth with planning, operating and/or administrating youth services in the direct living environment, such as playgrounds, haunts, community centres and the like;
- political participation: participation in networks and organisations aiming at influencing government policy at a central and/or local level (Youth Debates, youth councils etc.).

I mention these initiatives right here, because later in this thesis, I will return to the subject of youth participation.

I start now with a local example of collecting and displaying information on young people in the city of Eindhoven. This monitor is not finished yet, together with local policy-makers and youth professionals we are still developing it. It is not yet possible or useful to implement this monitor in other cities. In the process of creating this monitor we have learnt a lot. Therefore I also want to give an overview of the lessons we took in this process. These are lessons to be learned when you want to start a local youth monitor yourself.

Eindhoven, is a city in the south-east of Holland of about 200 thousand citizens. In this city live about 60.000 youngsters in the age of zero to 25 years. Within the Youth and Safety-policy framework in Eindhoven, a monitoring sys-

tem is being developed. The basic idea is that a system of annual measurements will indicate trends on young people's risk-behaviour. The system contains of three elements:

- quantitative basic data from existing registration files,
- qualitative information from key persons,
- qualitative information from young people themselves.

Until now we have started with the first element: the collection of quantitative basic-data. What kind of data do we collect? Data of youths from zero to 25 years are collected. We decided to use existing data. The idea is to get information from different organizations dealing with youths. Because the information system had to concern with young people's risk behaviour, we include for instance data from:

- 1 The local authority register
 - how many youths live in Eindhoven and in which neighbourhood/community do they live,
 - what is the ethnic background of the Eindhoven youth-population and how many boys and girls are amongst them.
- 2 Police
 - what is the age of the suspects,
 - what's the sexes of the suspects and to which ethnic group do they belong,
 - what are the crimes they have committed.
- 3 Public Prosecutor
 - what is the age of suspects that are being prosecuted,
 - what is their sexes and their ethnic background,
 - which crimes are they being accused of.
- 4 Employment statistics
 - how many unemployed young people live in Eindhoven,
 - what is their age and sexes,
 - in which community of Eindhoven do they live.

The data we receive from different organizations are converted to be analysed in SPSS (a statistical program). This of course requires some technological knowledge.

In this Eindhoven monitor we link data from different organizations. Next to the organizations mentioned above it will include in the future schools (data on playing truant from school and drop-out) and youth-care. It is not possible to link data to individual youths: no names and addresses are being registered.

The Eindhoven-monitor that we develop is not a system for the tackling of individual clients.

What we do register is the postal code. This makes it possible to present data at a community level. By comparing this years monitor to the one of 1999, we hope that trends can be discovered.

It is time for lesson number one on youth monitoring: the quality of the data you use depends on the quality of the suppliers of the data. To give an example. If you want to conclude about the crimes which youths are being prosecuted for, you have a problem if the Public Prosecutors registration says (as Eindhoven's Prosecutor did) in 50% of the cases: crime unknown. Therefore the development of a youth-monitor must be considered as a long-term process. And that is lesson number two. The basis of a reliable monitor is a good set of data. If these lack, your first you have to improve your input. It takes a lot of time, energy and discussion to develop a good monitor.

One of the problems we have to compete with now is the fact that different definitions are being used by different information suppliers. The two organizations that register crime – the police and the Public Prosecutor – use different terms in their registration. In one registration the ethnic group one belongs to is defined as: one's nationality. In another registration the country of birth of the parents is decisive. Lesson three is: in youth policy, people use different definitions so it is almost impossible to compare figures. Two possible solutions are: either these organizations have to make appointments on how to register in the future or the maker of the monitor should re-code all data.

And there is another important thing to mention here. Because of the fact that we are using existing registration-files, it is very important to have a good co-operation with the people that operate these systems. You are dependant on these people and clear appointments are necessary. This is lesson number four: you have to communicate with the key-people from organizations you need the data from.

And here is lesson number five which is maybe the most important lesson: don't start monitoring or measuring before you are absolutely sure about the things you want to monitor. You have to know the aim of the monitor. As long as the aim can be interpreted in different ways, or as long as the aim of monitoring is not sufficiently specified, you will never be able to develop a satisfying instrument. In Eindhoven the monitor has been established on the basis of what information risk behaviour can be assessed. Evidence is to be taken from various life spheres: school, work, police/courts and care. But this is not enough: policy-makers should be more specific on when behaviour is being labelled as risky. Also attention should be paid to combinations of life spheres: youths at risk often have problems at school and at the same time get in contact with the police and have problems at home.

Overlooking these lessons it is clear that it takes a lot of time, energy and money to develop, implement and maintain monitors on youth policy.

Now it is time to switch to the second part of my thesis: what discussions are going on in the Netherlands on the subject of gathering information in youth policy? Before starting discussions, it is necessary to focus on the situation in the Netherlands on monitoring.

Not only the city of Eindhoven is developing its youth monitor. There are several initiatives to come to more or less the same product. Examples are: the youth monitor Rotterdam, the youth monitor Groningen/Enschede, the youth monitor Utrecht. Fortunately, in some ways these initiatives are not completely separated from each other. They focus more or less the same life spheres, for instance school, criminality, situation at home. Sometimes the producers of the different monitors have contact to one another and decided to use the same data-structure. What is the reason for these almost simultaneously reactions in different places in the Netherlands? The first thing I want to mention is the political attention given to the subject 'youth'. Both on a local and a national level youth and youth problems have high priority. And more specific, juvenile delinquency is considered nowadays as one of the problems in the Netherlands that should be dealt with in order to prevent future problems like segregation. Therefore, a lot of money is available for youth policy. Local policy makers want to know the size of the problems. They want to know which actions they can take and they want information on the results of the taken measurements. Because a lot of things are going on on youth policy and prevention of juvenile delinquency, there is a great need on information.

The keyword in Dutch policymaking is coherence. Individual participants like schools, the police and welfare organizations, agree that they cannot solve the problems of the youths by themselves. These participants need each other and are working together on solutions. Next to this, in the Netherlands there is a process of on-going decentralisation. The local level is more and more responsible for solutions but still, central government wants to maintain control, and for that purpose it needs information. These developments cause a growing requirement for data collection and data exchange. This requirement is caused both from local level, as from the national government.

In Holland the Commission of Youth Research (CJO) in which different departments are represented, is making efforts to come to a national youth monitor. The reason for this is clear. To come to a national youth policy, it is necessary to get a national overview on youth, their problems and possibilities. Therefore it is important to get the same sort of local information. If all cities provide different sorts of information, it is impossible to make a national comparison.

The CJO is looking for a way to get more standardized information from municipalities. Very recently several conferences have been organised where

local and national policy makers and monitor professionals discussed the need of a national standard.

In a way, the results of these conferences were predictable. Off course, municipalities with their own monitor were very reluctant to say "yes" to a new, national standard. It takes a lot of time and energy to come to a Monitor. These municipalities have made a lot of efforts and are afraid for having to start all over again. And last but not least: every city thinks that it is unique and every monitor-producer is convinced that his or her monitor is the best there is. On the other hand, municipalities accept the importance of being able to make comparisons between different cities. How are youths doing in my city, compared to youths in other cities is an interesting question. And you cannot compare if you don't have comparable data.

The result of the conferences is that appointments have been made to come to a first step of co-operation. Everyone thinks that it is important to tune to and exchange information. But next to this, research will be done to the next two questions:

- 1 Which parts of national registrations (e.g. the police registration) can be used and how can be decided on definition questions like: what ages do we registrant and which definition we use for 'ethnic groups'? This question also has to do with the more principle question of: which subjects should be monitored and which not?
- 2 Which surveys (local and national) are valid to become a national standard.

To be honest I think that it will take some time before the Netherlands will have a national youth monitor that makes every participant happy.

This leads me to the last question I want to put forward: is it necessary to develop a national youth monitor? And what about all these local monitors?

With my experiences in Eindhoven in mind I think that the importance of monitoring should not be over exaggerated. The main reason why there is such an enormous need of information on youth might well be this. There is an enormous gap between adult policy makers and politicians on one hand and youths on the other. Both worlds are more or less separated from each other, there is little contact between the two. Normally, a policy-maker or a politician does not speak, to a youth (except maybe at home, but I hope they talk mainly about other things than politics). For me, this separation between youths and adults is the main problem that must be solved. I think that it is very important to restore the contact between adult youth policy makers and youths. A very good way to restore contact between youths and adults is to let them participate and to give youths influence in (youth) policy. By having contact, information will come to policymakers and politicians in a normal and natural way. Information from the source itself: the boy or girl one is talking to and not from

some source like police-figures or answers to questionnaires. In the Netherlands more and more politicians and policy-makers get in contact with youths and make appointments.

Does this lead to the conclusion: stop with monitoring? No, not at all. But it is my opinion, that it is very important to have direct contact with youths if you want to have information. I see monitoring as an instrument to support policy making. The goal of youth policy cannot be a good system of monitoring. Therefore I want to give a last lesson if you want to start monitoring: keep it small and simple. In der Einschränkung zeigt sich den Meister! On a local level this means that you should not try to cover every possible item on youth.

And for the efforts to come to a national standard of monitoring I would suggest to focus on the important question: are young people happy with the activities and possibilities municipalities offer? This question can be standardized for all municipalities. And that is a very important item for the welfare of youths that can be influenced by the international government.

5.8 Juvenile Delinquency in Munich - Findings, Reactions and Measures Required for Prevention and Intervention

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1 Preliminary Remarks

In Germany, as in most other European countries, there has been a strong increase in juvenile delinquency. Since 1989, there has been a continuous increase of young people registered in police crime statistics in the Free State of Bavaria. The percentage of these age groups among all people charged with criminal offences has also clearly risen.

The broad public discussion of what might have caused these increases has led the Bavarian State Ministry of the Interior to instruct the criminological research group of the Bavarian Bureau of Criminal Investigation, supported by Police Headquarters (PP) in Munich, to investigate the extent, development, manifestations and causes of juvenile delinquency registered with the Munich police.

2 Database and Method

The basic principles for investigating juvenile delinquency in Munich to the extent it is known today were:

- a continuing investigation of how juvenile delinquency has developed using police crime statistics for Munich (1983 to 1996);
- a cohort investigation of multiple deviant behaviour among young people. The ongoing deviant behaviour of 906 adolescents, who (at the age of 14 or 15) were registered by the police as suspects¹ in 1991 could be followed over five years until 1996;

¹ Suspect in the sense of police crime statistics is "anyone who, according to police investigations, is sufficiently suspected of having committed an illegal offence. This includes accomplices and instigators".

- the analysis of how migration, which grew rapidly in the nineties, influenced the development of juvenile delinquency;
- an analysis of files concerning violent crime: the criminal files of all children and half of all adolescents registered in 1995 for crimes of violence were evaluated;
- an examination of decisions made (by public prosecutors and the courts) during legal proceedings from 1988 to 1996: involving the age groups 14 to 17 and 18 to 20;
- the evaluation of social data accumulated by the City of Munich.

3 Findings Concerning Juvenile Delinquency Registered in Munich

The percentage of children and adolescents (aged 8 to 17) registered by the police as suspects during the last few years has risen far more strongly than the total number of registered suspects: by 91.9% in Munich from 1988 to 1996, as compared to only 40% among all suspects. Along with a real increase in juvenile delinquency, these figures show that offences "typical for young people" have been more frequently solved. The retail business sector, for instance, invested more in the insurance of its goods, which led to an increase in reported shoplifting. More personnel for the police narcotics department led to a growing number of recorded drug offences, these being typical control offences.

3.1 Juvenile Delinquency (Children)

On the census date of December 31, 1995, the population of Munich included 55,572 children (4.2%) between 8 and 13 years of age; 1011 8- to 13-year-old suspects were registered by the police in 1996: 3.5% of the total number of suspects that year, and 1.8% of all 8- to 13-year-Olds. Compared to 1983 and 1988, when 1.4% and 0.8% of children living in Munich were registered as suspects, that percentage has grown, relatively speaking², among 8- to 13-year-Olds, and the number of 8- to 13-year-old suspects per 100,000 children of that age reached a peak in 1996 with a quota³ of 1819. Nevertheless, that is only a very small proportion of all children.

² The absolute number of suspects is 1011 among 8- to 13-year-Olds in 1996 and lies above the highest value recorded so far in 1984, when there were 897 suspects.

³ The absolute number of suspects is 1011 among 8- to 13-year-Olds in 1996 and lies above the highest value recorded so far in 1984, when there were 897 suspects.

If we make further distinctions according to the children's age, it becomes clear that the assertion people like to put forward with regard to juvenile delinquency: there's always more of them, and they're always younger – cannot be verified by police records. Delinquency among 8- to 11-year-Olds is negligible in quantity and quality. Among 12- and 13-year-Olds, the suspect quota begins to rise – 3.6% of children this age were registered as suspects in 1996 – with the occasional serious crime added on. These findings are confirmed if we examine the criminal records of all 8- to 13-year-Olds who were involved in violent crimes⁴ in 1995:

- In 1995, 78 of more than 55,000 children living in Munich were registered as suspects of 42 criminal offences, i.e. 31 involving grievous bodily harm and 11 involving robbery.
- More than half of these children (56.5%) did not have a German passport; one fourth of foreign suspects moved to Munich after 1990.
- Among the suspects, there were 19 girls guilty of 7 offences.
- Acts of violence committed by children were mainly aimed at other children (of the same age); only in 29.5% of cases did the parties to the crime not know each other before.
- Only in very exceptional cases were injuries caused wilfully; serious injuries were rare.
- Weapons or dangerous tools hardly played a role, and if they did, they were used to threaten or impress.
- Only one of the acts of violence committed by children was reported by the police, another by a school; most of the others by parents or close relatives of the victims.
- Two thirds of the violent offences investigated were less serious cases mostly based on a child's emotional reactions and with no particular goal in mind.

If we make distinctions according to the nationality of the 8- to 13-year-old suspects, findings from other investigations of our research group are confirmed: in 1996, nearly half (46.3%) of the 8- to 13-year-old suspects had no German passport (but only 28.1% of those living in Munich); frequency of registration among these suspects increased by 154.3% compared to 1988. Although deviant behaviour among German children has also increased since 1988 (+106% till 1996), even in 1996 it does not exceed that of 1984; above all, it is significantly lower than that of foreign children. In 1996, the suspect

⁴ Murder, other wilful killings, rape, robbery, armed robbery, manslaughter through culpable negligence, dangerous and grievous bodily harm, kidnapping involving extortion, taking of hostages.

quota for German children was 1359 per 100,000 German inhabitants and 2996 for foreign children.

3.2 Juvenile Delinquency (Adolescents)

Whereas the delinquency among children registered by the police is of no great significance and does not deserve the "attention" it gets in (some) media, the delinquency among adolescents, i.e. the deviant behaviour of 14- to 17-year-Olds in Munich, requires a different evaluation. A distinct increase in the number of suspects can be seen, especially of young foreign suspects, as well as an indisputable tendency towards committing crimes of violence.

In 1996, 9.6% of all suspects living and committing offences in Munich were 14- to 17-year-Olds (constituting 3.1% of the population = 38,007 individuals on December 31, 1995). The suspect quota was 2844. In the same year, 7.5% of all young people in Munich were registered as suspects compared to 4.2% in 1983 and a low 4.0% in 1988.

Although, in 1996, German adolescents are still registered less often than in 1983 (1582 suspects compared to 1941 suspects according to absolute numbers), the suspect quota, considering the population development in this age group) has continuously gone up from 3569 in 1988 to 6211 in 1996. Thus, in 1996, 6.2% of all German 14- to 17-year-Olds were registered by the police.

Foreign adolescents contribute far more than German adolescents to the overall development: in 1996, 1262 (10%) of foreign 14- to 17-year-Olds living in Munich were registered as suspects; in 1988, the numbers were 523 or 5.0%. While their share of the population in the same age group increased from 14.6% (1982) to 33% (1985), the number of suspects increased from 21.1% (1983), through 33.1% (1988), to 44.4% (1996)⁵. With 10,067 suspects per 100,000 foreign 14- to 17-year old inhabitants of Munich, young foreigners clearly show more deviant behaviour than young Germans (with a suspect quota of 6211).

In 1996, every third adolescent in Munich, and nearly every second adolescent suspect, did not have a German passport: 71% had an ex-Yugoslav⁶ or Turkish passport. Since 1990, the strong increase in the number of young foreign suspects has been largely due to migration from the crisis areas of former Yugoslavia. The analysis of migration movements shows that 40.4% of all foreign youths registered as suspects in 1996 had moved to Munich after 1990.

⁵ The highest share they had was 46% in 1993.

⁶ Meaning the whole territory of former Yugoslavia.

Although the most frequently registered offence among young people is petty larceny with shoplifting coming in first place (1995: 52.7%), youths have shown a distinct tendency towards crimes of violence since 1988. In 1996, with 492 suspects and a share of 17.3%, the quota was three times that of 1988. That same year, foreign adolescents, with 64.6% (or 318 suspects), had the highest share for the period of reference. Their quota of criminal offences is 3,7 times that of German adolescents.

In comparison to violent crimes committed by children, the same crimes committed by adolescents in the period of reference not only increased far more strongly, but were also clearly more serious with regard to their quality. This follows from the evaluation of 200 criminal files of a total of 395 adolescents registered in Munich in 1995 for crimes of violence:

- These 200 suspects – only 16 of whom were female – were registered with a total of 144 criminal offences, mainly grievous bodily harm (82 cases) and robbery (58 cases).
- The share of adolescent foreign suspects, amounting to 60%, is even higher than among children; these adolescents come mainly (84.1%) from former Yugoslavia and Turkey; about 30% of foreign adolescents moved to Munich after 1990.
- The low educational standards of young suspects having committed acts of violence are remarkable: more than 90% of foreign and 75% of German suspects go to a “Hauptschule” (second-level primary school) or remedial school – even more than among multiple offenders (see below). 42.4% of adolescent suspects who had already left school could manage neither the direct transition from school to the dual vocational system⁷ nor to the job market and had no occupation whatsoever.
- Nearly 80% of young suspects committed acts of violence jointly with other adolescents, mostly in small, loosely connected groups of two to four.
- Adolescents registered for acts of violence do not, as a rule, have only one entry in their police record: 86% of those chosen for a random survey were registered for other offences, nearly half of them for five or more. Every second one of them also participated more than once in acts of violence.
- Acts of violence committed by adolescents are quite often acts of violence against other adolescents. Three of four victims of young suspects were also under 21 years of age. In 60% of cases, perpetrators and victims did

⁷ The system of vocational training in Germany.

not know each other before the act. This is particularly true for cases of robbery.

- While 90% of young German suspects harm German victims, 30% of the violence of foreign suspects is also directed at foreign victims.
- When evaluating how damaging acts of violence were, two thirds of them had to be classified as “serious cases” or “extreme cases” – a clear increase in the degree of harm done when compared with acts of violence committed by children. However, the random survey did not produce one single case where the victim was killed; and only a small number of victims (8.5%) were injured so badly that a longer stay in hospital became necessary. One fourth of all victims remained without injury, at least physically;; they were the victims of robberies, almost without exception. Weapons, such as knives and tools, were not used very often (38.6% of cases), but nearly every fourth victim (22.9%) was kicked. “Kicking with shoes or boots” can be considered as a typical, age- specific way of dealing with victims.
- The decisive factor for young suspects of violence being registered is whether victims and their families (rather than the police or school) report the crime or not. Only one single act of violence was reported by a school – a remarkable finding in view of the discussions of “violence in schools”.

Not only the quality of criminal offences, but also the frequency of investigations are criteria for judging how serious registered (juvenile) delinquency is. In the case of 906 adolescent suspects who were 14 or 15 years old in 1991 and lived in Munich, their repeated deviant behaviour could be followed by the police until 1996, when they were 19 or 20 years old. For this cohort, a total of 6268 criminal offences was registered:

- For one third (33.7%, 306 suspects having committed 305 offences), contact with the police was “a unique slip”.
- Another third (33.8%, 306 suspects having committed 796 offences) was registered two to four times during the period of investigation, but still remained below the boundary of “five times or more” considered to be prognostically important.
- The last third (32.6%, 295 suspects) was registered with 5167 offences committed by “multiple and intensive perpetrators” in the true sense of the word. 175 of these suspects (or one fifth of the total cohort) were registered with ten offences or even more (a total of 4383). 51.5% of all criminal offences were committed by 87 suspects (i.e. 9.6% of all suspects), totalling 20 or more offences each (3226 offences altogether).

If distinctions are made according to the duration of devious behaviour among one-time or multiple offenders, the difference between “juvenile delinquency as an age-specific episode” and “juvenile delinquency as an indication of considerable social and educational deficiencies” becomes even clearer:

- Nearly half of the cohort (47.2% or 426 suspects) are registered for the length of one year only, mostly with one offence and with a maximum of four.
- 14.6% (132 suspects) are behaviourally deviant for up to three years, mostly with 2 to 4 or 5 to 9 offences.
- One quarter (24.7%, 224 suspects) show deviant behaviour for at least three years and are registered with at least five offences. The more registrations there are, the longer the duration of deviant behaviour.

In answer to the question whether the initial offence⁸ has prognostic significance for further devious behaviour, our investigations can only give clues, but no definite results. The following points have been noticed:

- The main emphasis of deviant behaviour is on petty larceny for two thirds (66.9%) of those youths who were offenders once only. Contrary to a frequently expressed opinion, “shoplifting” as an initial offence does not make the prognosis of a “criminal career” sound reasonable.
- The more offences per suspect are registered by the police, the less likely is the first offence to have been petty larceny, but rather a serious criminal offence like grand larceny or an act of violence.
- Generally speaking, the more offences are registered, the broader the range of offences is likely to be.

Sex and nationality of suspects also have prognostic significance, but exactly in the opposite direction. While girls, on the whole, show far less multiple deviant behaviour than boys, this criterion also identifies young foreigners as being more susceptible to criminal offences than Germans of the same age (which is particularly true for boys):

- More than half of the 204 female suspects of this cohort have been registered only once, but only one quarter of the male suspects.
- Only 13.3% of girls, but 38.2% of boys, have been registered with five or more offences; 5.9% of girls (12 suspects) and 23.3% of boys (163 suspects) with ten or more offences.

⁸ In our records, the first offence registered at the age of 14 or 15; if devious behaviour occurred before that age, it is not known to us.

- Not even ten per cent of all offences committed in the cohort (9.4%; 590 of 6268 offences) were committed by female suspects; two thirds of these were petty larceny, mostly shoplifting.

The situation is quite different with regard to one-time and multiple deviant behaviour of young foreign suspects in the cohort. Five and more offences have been registered for more than two fifths (43.8%; 138 individuals) of foreign, but only for one third (33.6%; 130 individuals) of German male suspects. There are also considerable differences among boys with regard to registered crimes of violence. Every third (43 individuals) of the 129 Turkish suspects, every fifth (23 individuals) of the ex-Yugoslav suspects, but only about every eighth (51 individuals) of the 387 German suspects in this cohort was registered at least once for robbery; 20.7% of young German, but 31.8% of young ex-Yugoslav and 41.1% of young Turkish suspects were investigated in cases of dangerous and grievous bodily harm. In comparison, damage to property is a German speciality, in this cohort as in others. There was also a distinct interrelation between multiple devious behaviour and drug abuse:

- As a rule, suspects in the cohort, registered by the police for drug offences, were at least 16 or 17 years old.
- Drug offences usually did not occur at the beginning of multiple devious behaviour, but were added on to other offences in later years. The use of drugs or drug dependency do not seem to trigger a delinquency career, but may well reinforce it.
- To the extent that registered offences increase, the percentage of suspects involved in drug offences also increases: 70.1% of suspects with 20 or more offences were also registered for drug violations. The connection between susceptibility to heroin and an extremely high frequency of deviant behaviour is conspicuous.

4 Decisions Made by Public Prosecutors and the Courts During Legal Proceedings

Between 1988 and 1996, formal proceedings involving a trial clearly shifted to informal proceedings in Munich. The number of trials involving adolescents remained about the same, whereas proceedings without a trial doubled. This development was intentional, at least partially, and is the outcome of a greater commitment to diversion. The question remains, however, if and to what extent the educational goals of diversion are influenced by economic constraints on proceedings. The courts have to deal with far more cases (plus 42%) employing the same number of, or even clearly less, staff. A large share of these

cases is "intercepted" by public prosecutors who simply stop them, thus obviously sacrificing those communicative diversion strategies which are so important for pedagogical reasons. In more than half of the cases which were discontinued by public prosecutors, there was no contact to the adolescents accused.

5 Prevention and Intervention with Regard to Juvenile Delinquency in Munich

As early as the mid-sixties, the police in Munich saw the need for preventive, and not only repressive, action in order to deal with the rapidly increasing number of adolescents among all suspects.

Since 1970, specially trained youth officers (currently 47) have been employed by all police stations in Munich. In particular, their tasks are:

- to prevent the delinquent behaviour of minors with the help of behaviour- and target-group-oriented measures;
- to foster contacts to representatives of local institutions such as schools, kindergartens, youth offices and social service departments;
- to contribute to the gradual elimination of tensions within the adolescent scene by cooperating with these institutions (avoidance of group conflicts);
- to support contacts among young people and to improve the relations between young people and the police by introducing events related to the city district in question;
- to ensure the enforcement of legal requirements concerning the protection of young persons in public (also against the media) by inspecting relevant businesses and events.

In recent years, the police have also initiated preventive measures addressing children of kindergarten age (up to age 7) and school kids from grades 3 and 4 (age 9-10):

- a drawing-book for small children that uses drawings to give them an understanding of important rules of behaviour from a preventive point of view;
- a homework book for school kids in which the target group is made aware of problems around certain (dangerous) situations, and suggestions are made regarding action to take and/or possible solutions.

Both booklets were worked out in close cooperation with the school and health departments and the prevention center of the City of Munich.

The cooperation of authorities and institutions having to do with young people occurs in Munich at various levels:

- The police work together with public prosecutors and the juvenile court if there is a possibility for informal proceedings, such as a face-to-face encounter between offenders and victims.
- The police work together with schools to run lectures and discussions in schools about police-relevant topics, and to ensure that school events come off without trouble.
- The cooperation with youth work institutions has special significance in the area of local networking. The police have good contacts to social services and to the providers of leisure time facilities in town.
- There are also many points of contact between the police and the municipal youth office, although here interests occasionally collide when street workers get in the way of police operations.
- Beyond that, there are inter-departmental discussions about norm violations of young people which representatives of courts, social services, educational authorities and the police take part in. These discussions serve to exchange information and experiences and to talk about possible measures against juvenile delinquency.

6 Consequences and Intervention Measures

The many manifestations and (possible) causes of juvenile delinquency make just as many consequences and interventions necessary. The problems that rising crime figures give expression to cannot be solved with repressive means alone – in the sense of optimizing social control, i.e. measures under penal law relating to young offenders. The conditions that children grow up in and which determine their integration and social participation are decisive factors with regard to juvenile delinquency, its kind, seriousness and duration. For many children and adolescents, these conditions have clearly deteriorated:

- What is needed is a cooperative, harmonizing, inter-departmental and inter-institutional alliance that aims to improve the living conditions and social integration processes of children and adolescents – attempts, so far, have been isolated in specific departments and according to specific tasks.
- Statutory and voluntary youth welfare services should be at the center of all efforts; but the police, the courts, schools, clubs, social and charitable institutions, business associations, the media etc. should also be more strongly involved.

- In order to reduce the prejudice that police, public prosecutors and juvenile court magistrates feel towards one another, the idea of education has to be emphasized even more.
- It is also necessary to get the police more strongly involved in supporting the courts, social workers put onto juvenile cases and social services departments. The police are the first – and often the only – authority of social control (i.e. criminal law) that has direct contact to young delinquents. Information about their personal and social background – for instance, the family, school or work situation – their involvement in delinquent youth groups or scenes, and the reaction of others to norm violations are important factors when cooperating departments and institutions decide about suitable measures to be taken in individual cases.
- Against the background of our research project in Munich, crime prevention should be orientated mainly towards boys, young men and young foreigners. From our point of view, it is urgently required to analyse the situation of young people in their local environment, so that concrete, problem-oriented measures can be taken. As for young foreigners, it is important to consider the length of their stay which can differ a great deal. Especially in districts where there is a high concentration – up to 50% – of adolescents without German citizenship, the well-known problems must be taken up. Problems with language, school and vocational training put young foreigners at a disadvantage, make integration more difficult, and increase the danger of ghettoisation.
- It is an absolute prerequisite for effective crime prevention among young foreigners to step up the employment of foreign staff in the police force and social institutions; also, to involve representatives of the foreigners' advisory council, of foreigners' associations and of native-language social services who, along with other respected and influential representatives of the foreign community, must be won over to develop and implement measures for "their" young people with the help of German authorities.

5.9 Neighbourhood Networks

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1 What is a Neighbourhood Network?

More than 10 years ago a prevention methodology of neighbourhood networks was developed in the Netherlands. A neighbourhood network consists of a consulting team of professionals concerning their direct contacts with children of age 0 - 12 and their parents. Members of those networks could be professionals of child care, day nurseries, health care, primary education, youth welfare, social work, juvenile police. First aim of a neighbourhood network is to detect child problems in the earliest stage. Next step is to figure out a best approach to resolve the problem identified. Co-operation between professionals makes it possible to gather and have access to information on families and children: and to spot and tackle their social and educational problems at an early stage.

A neighbourhood network is one of the methods forming part of the preventive approach in the youth care sector and constitutes a first experimental program of early detection and early intervention in this field of youth care. As such it represents an example of new developments to inter-agency and interdisciplinary co-operation. One task of the neighbourhood network is to prevent child abuse and criminal behaviour through prophylactic activities.

As at spring 1998, there were around 300 neighbourhood networks actively functioning in the Netherlands. This prevention methodology has been implemented in all (12) Dutch provinces. Nowadays neighbourhood networks function in the big cities, particularly in districts with problems of disadvantage, as in rural areas as well.

2 Neighbourhood Networks in Action

Analysis of Local Needs

Crucial for starting up a neighbourhood network is a bottom-up approach. Not the local policy makers of the municipal government are deciding when to start but it begins with the initiative of the local organisations in the field of child and

youth care. First of all there has to be created sufficient support and co-operation between participants in the neighbourhood. Of course the municipal government can play a supportive and stimulating role in further development of the neighbourhood network. The role of local government can best be characterised as primarily a reactive than an active one.

Before a network starts, first it has to be explored what the questions, problems and needs are in the local area. Therefore an analysis of the neighbourhood is made based on interviews with representatives of relevant local community services. 'Hard' demographic data are also collected as to numbers, age, ethnic composition, socio-economic status of the neighbourhood population and the intensity and frequency of the use that is made of the local services.

Based on such a systematic exploration of the neighbourhood a decision is made whether or not a neighbourhood network will be started. When a green light has been given first of all a co-ordinator has to be appointed. S/he is the key-person who should bring continuity in the neighbourhood network.

Professional Peer Consultation

On an average there are about 8 network meetings a year. Those are regular planned meetings with a fixed structure and a well prepared agenda. Professionals of diverse sectors gather their efforts in such a network. A network counts about 8 persons on average. In the initial stage of their networking much attention is paid to the comparison of their views on their professional code, culture and methods of work. Illustrative is the different way of naming the persons they are working with and for. They use different terms like: student, pupil, child, patient or client etcetera. It demands reflection and insight in their mutual professions to be able to bridge over those kind of differences in terminology and working codes, cultures and methods. An integral working method requires inter-professional co-operation. Therefore participants should personally be highly motivated to join a neighbourhood network. Their motivation is decisive and not their representative status such as management position.

During a network meeting they bring in their professional problems they can not solve in their own practice. By means of inter-professional consulting they explore new ways to overcome their professional limitations in finding adequate and more appropriate solutions to the social and educational problems they are facing. They share their knowledge and skills, which strengthens mutual confidence an also contributes to individual self-esteem, capacities and functioning. The network members mostly feel supported and perceive themselves more competent to behave as a professional.

A network consists of an interdisciplinary team of professionals, each of them with a specific expertise on dealing with children. By co-operating they are constructing a more complete image of the child within the context of its family. They deliberate about the problems that has arisen and decide which person is most appropriate to maintain contacts with the family and the child. This stimulates a proper and careful contact with parents and prevents the practice of contradictory and confusing contacts with parents by different professionals.

The co-ordinator of the network is supposed to guard the whole process of this case-management. On average s/he spends 4 hours a week to network activities. Only the co-ordination hours are funded by local government on a project basis. The activities of the other network members are supposed to be part of their regular task. Every year an inventory is made of the results of the network. Based on this inventory a discussion and decision has to be made about continuation of the network. In general evaluation records indicate that the professional efforts of the network members seem to be a good investment. During the special evaluation meeting once a year the composition of network team is discussed including change, expansion or even cancellation of the network. In reality there are hardly cancellations but sometimes changes in composition of the network have been reported.

Bottle Necks

Some networks encounter difficulties with internal co-operation. Changes in the composition of the network require proper transfer of expertise. This prevents a situation of continuously inventing a new wheel. The feedback of network members to their professional home base constitutes another point that needs attention. Too often the network knowledge only functions in the inner circle of the network. Another bottle neck constitutes the kinds of problems that are introduced in the network meetings. The input of heavy problems too often leads to fixation on curative solutions and hinders the attention to preventive actions. A final point concerns the issue of privacy. It is allowed to use the name of the child in the network discussions only if the parents has given permission according to the guideline and working code of the network. It is not always easy to ask permission, for instance in case of suspects of child abuse. In such case it is discussed the best way to contact the parents without harming the interests of the child.

3 Some Results

Self Reports

A general registration-system is used in every neighbourhood network. Both individual and collective indicators of problems have been registered. National data, based on self reports of the neighbourhood networks during school years 1994, 1995 and 1996 show that most problems concern the social and emotional development of children (33%). Emotional problems, social skill problems and behavioural problems belong to this category. Physical, sexual and psychological child abuse is another main problem (25%). Educational problems in a more broad sense are a main problem in 18% of the reported cases. According to the respondents a percentage of 33% of all reported problem situations have been resolved during the network consultation period. Besides another 41% of the problems are partially resolved. A residue of 26 % remains unresolved.

About one third of the reported children is four years or under four. In general some more problem signals about boys than girls are reported. About four out of ten new reported signals concern children from minority groups. A majority of the reported children live in a two parent family (58%). About one third (29%) of the children live in a one parent family and ten percent grows up in a new arranged step family. Children from other types such as foster family are quite rare (3%).

The family context can be a cause for application of a child to a neighbourhood network. An inventory of family features indicate that 17% of the children originates from social isolated families. Next are mentioned children from families with addiction problems and financial problems (12% each).

About half (48%) of the children is brought in by primary school. Childcare (14%) and youth health care (11%) also have a rather substantial share. Besides there is the input of community services (10%), school health service and social work (4% each).

Towards a Policy of Prevention

Neighbourhood networks have become an instrument of local preventive youth policy. As such it also has an integrative function. Several instruments have been developed in the area of integral youth policy. On the one hand this policy aims at the general development of children to adulthood, on the other hand it aims at tailor made working, which means proper and direct responding to each problem that occurs. All the instruments should be closely linked to each other. The neighbourhood networks are often mentioned as a preventive instrument that contributes to youth crime and misbehaviour reduction through

its capacity for early detection and making adjustments to developmental and educational problems.

5.10 Conclusions

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Information is imperative for political control; also for a preventive youth policy concerned with delinquent behaviour. All participants could easily agree to this denominator. Nevertheless, there were controversial arguments about its practical meaning, about which way information should be gathered and to what extent, and the range of target groups to be investigated. Whereas in the Netherlands, particularly in cities, widespread surveys were carried out which, increasingly, served as an information pool for youth policy, that kind of local survey hardly exists in Germany. The surveys in the Netherlands can be seen as a sign of the general importance of youth policy issues and as a reaction to juvenile delinquency with its consequences in later segregation processes. In the context of youth welfare planning by German youth offices, surveys are also being carried out, but they try to find out the needs and wishes of young people, also gaps in youth welfare provision, rather than focus on the different forms of deviant behaviour and what determines them.

With regard to widespread surveys, the German side pointed out the dangers of stigmatization: of young people in general, but also of neighbourhoods, schools and other facilities where youths were interviewed if they showed special features (deviant behaviour) that were given a negative assessment by the public. Another danger was pointed out: namely, that this kind of survey could be abused as an instrument for controlling deviant behaviour. In both cases, the Germans requested that data should be dealt with carefully and that procedures should be developed to guarantee an appropriate interpretation and correct handling of such data in other contexts.

Four different kinds of information were identified as being necessary for a youth welfare policy that wants to be efficient and preventive. It was pointed out that, firstly, information is required about the needs of young people. Only if these are known, appropriate help can be provided and preventive programs developed in the field of youth work. Secondly, information is needed about the living conditions of children and adolescents. These include problems that young people are confronted with in their everyday lives and the resources they and their parents, or persons holding parental authority, have available to cope with these conditions. Thirdly, it is necessary to look at data concerned with the structure of juvenile delinquency, because these data may well reflect

the needs and wishes of young people showing deviant behaviour. Fourthly, a stock-taking and description of existing provision is necessary, so that, together with the other types of information, gaps can be identified and modifications ensured.

To get at information, many obstacles frequently have to be overcome. Often, there is a lack of personnel and financial resources to be able to gather information at all. Moreover, the professional competence required for these activities as well as the analysis and interpretation of data is not always sufficiently available. It happens that data sources are not available at all for the information required. But even if they are available, there is no guarantee they will have the desired form, distinctiveness and quality. Last but not least, the origin of data has to be thought about, since certain data, as for instance in police statistics of crime suspects, follow a certain logic that warrants their internal and external use and may be tainted by the specific perspective of ONE profession ONLY. In such cases, their usefulness in other contexts is only partially suitable.

From an analytical point of view, three strategies for collecting data relevant to prevention were identified, not mutually exclusive and useful for an appropriate youth welfare policy. The first strategy is characterized by actively collecting information about the needs, living conditions and delinquency structures of children and adolescents. This strategy may be considered as a collecting of signals. The second strategy emphasizes the environment young people live in, i.e. neighbourhood networking, in particular. This strategy wants to build up a system for the early recognition of signals, so that reactions to juvenile delinquency can be quick and timely. The third strategy believes that young people's participation should be stronger and that decision-makers, children and adolescents should move closer together, so that whatever knowledge is acquired about the youths can be brought in line with their needs more directly and sincerely and can, in this manner, help to shape a preventive youth policy.

Another undisputed issue was the need for a more intensive and qualitatively improved cooperation between institutions involved in the environment of children and adolescents. The relations between police and other institutions, in particular, are different in Germany and in the Netherlands. In Germany, relations between the police and social welfare institutions are determined mainly by the prevailing principle of legality which obliges the police to engage in criminal prosecution if an infringement of the law becomes known. This makes it difficult for the police and other institutions to exchange information, because the confidentiality that exists between social welfare institutions and their addressees prevents full cooperation with the police. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, the principle of appropriateness gives the police certain options, not so strongly predefined, to act in closer agreement with the socio-

educational standards of other institutions. Model projects in Germany have shown that cooperation between the police and social welfare institutions can be improved if the principle of legality is relaxed.

Generally speaking, effective inter-institutional cooperation requires that cooperation partners have a clear idea of each other's responsibilities and provision profiles. Even then, this knowledge is not sufficient. Other aspects can benefit cooperation. One should know what group of addressees an institution is in charge of, whether this responsibility is limited to a certain region and if other institutions are involved, in which case attention should focus on how they relate to each other. An important factor for any institution is a certain freedom to act, which determines how successful and comprehensive the fulfillment of its tasks will be. Public discussions of juvenile delinquency show that some of the ideas circulating about the possibilities of youth welfare institutions to take action are wrong. This means that, even if an institution is committed to a certain task, it does not follow automatically that it is empowered to fulfill this task in every possible way. Wrong expectations can be reduced if the range of possibilities for cooperation partners to take action is known. Frequently, these possibilities are determined by law and cannot be directly influenced or changed.

Another important and beneficial aspect of inter-institutional cooperation is the knowledge of how cooperation partners have organized their internal structures and procedures. The time needed for certain tasks and delays that might occur are more easily understood, the tolerance threshold is raised, and cooperation partners find more enduring common ground. Knowledge of cooperation partners personnel resources can raise awareness of what is possible and what is not in inter-institutional relations and can relieve unnecessary strains.

Taking these aspects into account and answering all the questions are not the inevitable result of cooperation among different institutions. Wrong ideas may prevail and harden even within such a cooperation. The questions must be clarified and knowledge about institutions imparted, and this knowledge must become an integral part of institutional cooperation.

All in all, it became clear that collecting data and information cannot be an end in itself, although frequently it is just that. Often, the knowledge gained in the planning process is not translated into a political strategy for preventing juvenile delinquency. But using this knowledge is, in fact, the best way to safeguard the quality of the planning process, because what is signaled is the suitability of information and procedures for the course adopted.

6 Empowerment Rather than Segregation: A New Preventive Approach

6.1 Empowerment Rather than Segregation of Juvenile Delinquents - An Introduction

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Empowerment has become a collecting term for activities and theories of social work (cf. following introductions of Herriger and Hermanns et al.). Basically the aim of empowering social work means to build on the strength of people and to help them to discover their own power. Empowerment is successful if the empowered persons gain control over their lives and are able to use the social and material sources that are available.

Empowerment is successful if the empowered persons are able to gain control for the most parts of their lives and can use available social and material possibilities – with as less as possible intervention and with as much participation of all participants as possible. That's the theory. The exciting question is the concrete realisation of empowerment with delinquent children and juveniles and the consequences for them, the professionals and the structures of the social system.

Concepts of empowerment in the context of prevention of criminality have the duty to proof what is meant by the positive and colourful term of empowerment and to show up the practical and theoretical consequences. Provocative in the context of working with delinquent children and juveniles is especially the question how much or how less and at with time intervention is necessary.

From this point we chose interesting german and dutch projects. Their experiences of translating empowerment concepts into action can give important

information about the realisation of empowerment in the field of child and youth delinquency.

Therefore the following articles have the goal:

- 1 To clarify the concept of empowerment and to contrast empowerment with the treatment/intervention approach.
- 2 To create an overview of strategies and methods that are currently available for empowerment projects with juvenile delinquents or youth that are at risk for delinquency.
- 3 To give information on actual empowerment projects with juvenile delinquents or youth that are at risk for delinquency in Germany and The Netherlands.
- 4 To draw some conclusions on promising future developments.

6.2 Empowerment in the Pedagogical Work with "Adolescents at Risk"

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Nowadays, empowerment is an overall category for all attempts in social work that encourage young people to discover their own strengths and that support them in their search for self-determination and autonomy. The goal of empowerment is to strengthen young people's ability to organise and direct their everyday lives autonomously, and to make out those resources that help them to shape their environment and the course of their lives in self-determined manner.

The empowerment concept starts out from a distinctly critical evaluation of traditional social work which has failed to grasp its clients' full potential. This kind of social work nurtures an image of its clients which, to this day, has been determined by a negative view of human nature, i.e. their clients' identity, their biographical experience and social networks have been perceived exclusively in terms of shortcomings, immaturity and weakness. The empowerment concept breaks with this view of human deficiencies. Even in phases of strain and despondency, the target group of social services is perceived to be a group of active individuals having the competence to shape and determine their own lives. This faith in people's strength to overcome the pressures of everyday reality in a productive manner is the central idea in the "philosophy of human strengths" (cf. Herriger 1997 for further details).

Empowerment in Social Work with Juvenile Delinquents

The empowerment concept is clearly delimited from the traditional model of "re-socialisation", which has been the basic paradigm of social work with juvenile delinquents for a long time. Essentially, this model expresses the conviction that the delinquent behaviour of children and adolescents has its roots, always and without exception, in profound socialisation disorders. This conviction goes hand in hand with another: namely, that the delinquent behaviour of young people urgently requires educational counter-measures. They are non-conformist and they violate norms, which is regarded as a pedagogically significant deviation from the "ordinary biography" and seems to justify the need

for corrective pedagogical intervention. An undesirable development and a lack of socialisation on the one hand, a need for education and corrective pedagogical intervention on the other – with this simple equation, the re-socialisation model backs up its justification for radically interfering with young people's life-styles (an interference these young people often experienced as far too repressive and, therefore, rejected). The empowerment concept gives a different view of things. The deviant behaviour of young people and the conflicts that frequently accompany their plans and life styles are no longer derived from a history of socialisation pressures alone. Rather, this deviant behaviour is regarded as a subjectively meaningful model for dealing with difficult situations in real life. Pedagogical attempts at re-socialisation that focus on the individual histories of adolescents are not very likely to succeed. Wherever the empowerment concept replaces them, future-oriented educational methods prevail, which give help the young people can make use of, because it is linked to the concrete reality of their lives. In this manner, their ability to take action, their self-esteem and social recognition are renewed. Hence, the goal of empowerment is firstly, to reduce the experience of helplessness and to reinforce self-esteem, coherence patterns and subjective hardiness (Antonovsky 1987; "hardiness" cf. Kobasaa 1979), and secondly, to build up supportive structures that help young people organise themselves and to make resources available for jointly and successfully dealing with burdensome life circumstances. In this regard, we can speak of the following five modules of empowerment:

1 Focussing on young people's strengths

The basic conviction that runs through the entire empowerment concept is to trust in the abilities and productive strengths of each and every individual. Young people know how to engineer their biographies constructively, even if, in past and present, incriminating facts have cast their shadow. In most cases, delinquent behaviour is only temporary. It is part of the adolescent phase of life and does not lead to deviant behaviour in adulthood. Non-conformist attitudes are a typical adolescent way of experimenting with life options, but at the threshold to adulthood (when young people leave their peer groups, find steady partners and make professional choices), these attitudes return to normal, and rules are once again complied with (processes of "maturing out"). However, there is a group of "high-degree offenders" particularly at risk who, while constituting only about 5% of registered juvenile perpetrators, are responsible for about 30% of registered crimes: but in these cases, repression should not be chosen as an educational method either; what is needed, instead, is intensive socio-pedagogical care for individuals (standing by them in their daily lives), that opens new opportunities in the market for education,

work and peer relationships; and provides partners who are always available for discussing future plans.

2 Accepting the unconventional plans young people make for their lives

It is an everyday experience of educators that “problem youths” (especially those susceptible to violence) are difficult to approach. Unfortunately, the pedagogical discourse often fails, coming up against a wall of defensiveness. The remedy can only be an educational strategy that acknowledges the right of young people “to be different” and puts moral demands aside. An educational strategy of acceptance yields to young people’s self-determination. This means taking seriously the way young people see themselves and their lives, which is often determined by conflict; it means abandoning moral arguments and putting aside pedagogical demands that aim at reforming and re-socialising. Obviously, this educational tolerance cannot be unlimited – it ends where basic values of social interaction are endangered, e.g. respecting the physical and emotional integrity of others; abandoning aggressiveness that wants to injure or destroy. This means that educators in borderline situations must testify again and again to their normative convictions when talking to young people, and at the same time, if the basic rules for violence-free communication are revoked, they must state unequivocally where tolerance has its absolute limits.

3 Arranging flexible everyday assistance

The value of social work is only apparent to young people if they can experience it as “useful” in a very direct sense, i.e. if tangible aid is given in stressful situations and flexible forms of support are offered. “Case management”, therefore, always stands at the beginning of any empowerment activity, i.e. the arranging of supportive resources. The concrete forms of resource management are likely to be different from case to case: helping to structure everyday life (e.g. sheltered rooms where drug users can take shots; day care for street children; emergency flats and drop-in locations for adolescents in critical life phases); offering flexible forms of housing where supervision is relaxed; building up work projects where adolescents can experience meaningful action (e.g. carrying out environmental and landscape projects; renovating old buildings to obtain living space for themselves) – the list of examples for such youth work that puts resources at the disposal of young people is long and encouraging (cf. Böhnisch/Fritz/Seifert 1997; Krafeld 1997 in: Herriger 1997).

4 The biographical dialogue

Many young people are completely out of touch with their own life stories. The painful experience of broken-off relationships, hurtful biographical events, insults and feelings of impotence – all these factors induce young people to split off their personal histories, so that, at the same time, they are incapable of deriving points of reference from their past to experience self-esteem and competence. The biographical dialogue is a methodological instrument that helps to re-tie those biographical strings that have snapped. The pedagogical discourse has three objectives: (1) a retrospective orientation to jointly reappraise the adolescent's life up to now, the history of his relationships, and his positive endeavours to gain control; (2) a future orientation in trying to achieve an understanding about personal goals and prospects; (3) imparting specific skills that will help the adolescent to withstand provocations and conflict situations.

5 Supporting a network of friends

The strategies of police and court authorities to deal with juvenile violence and delinquency have followed well-known patterns over the last few years: branding offenders as criminals and arresting the "ringleaders", crushing delinquent youth groups, keeping youths under surveillance and in a close-meshed network of social controls. The empowerment concept provides a different approach: the main responsibility of youth work, if it takes the empowerment idea seriously, is to strengthen youth groups and to support them in their search for successful ways of coping with life – by supporting peer groups, by helping to arrange solidarity networks, and by promoting self-organisation. In concrete terms, this means: the task of youth work, particularly where violence-prone groups are concerned, is the transformation of violent group structures into forms of interaction that can manage without offending others. This is made possible by offering youth groups milieu-related activities that give them a chance to experience empowerment, self-esteem and social recognition in different and less risky ways than before. Especially in the manifold projects collected in the Federal Government's action program against aggression and violence, forms of cooperation have been tried out that point in the right direction. It follows that an indispensable prop for such milieu-supporting work are, first of all, premises which are run by the group and where regulations are largely suspended, thus giving adolescents the feeling of being "at home" and in good keeping. A second module is: the implementation of activities and projects that give adolescents special group experiences outside their usual routines, thus supporting and securing the community spirit. These pedagogical group services (experience-oriented activities like mountain-biking, free

climbing, bungee-jumping; but also projects linked to everyday life, such as restoring old buildings and creating one's own living space) are important starting points for experiencing something quite contrary to the rituals of violence and risky group dynamics that adolescents have got used to. They can get rid of their feelings of helplessness; and they can experience and show their self-esteem in new ways by participating in autonomous activities. A pedagogical approach of this kind, offering new opportunities to experience competence, social recognition and social cohesion, helps young people to find new horizons of meaning for their lives, try out joint forms of self-organisation and overcome the often painful experiences of frustration and loneliness.

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6.3 Strategies of Reclaiming Delinquent Youth

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1 Participation versus Marginalisation

One way of looking at child development is from the perspective of participation. The development of children and adolescents can be conceived as a process of participation in an increasing number of social contexts. Children are, from the moment they are born, active participants in social transactions. The concept of child development as a process that is directed by and filled in by child rearing and other environmental input, has been abandoned long ago in developmental psychology. Children learn to participate in a complex system of overlapping and sometimes conflicting social environments. The social context in which children participate starts at the microlevel of the family and kinship, expands to peer groups, to neighbourhoods and playgrounds, to day care, to schools and youth cultures, to the broader society and even to the 'global village'. Participation implies a mutual influence between individual and social systems in which both the individual and the system change.

If these processes of learning to participate succeed, children and adolescents develop a sense of competence, connectedness, belonging, caring and responsibility.

In child development and especially in developmental psychopathology, the importance of processes at the microlevel has been stressed rather exclusively. It however becomes increasingly clear that processes that are related to other social contexts are as well of significant importance. Not only because the broader social, cultural, economical environments have an impact on family life, but also because these environments present for the developing child new areas of participation and new opportunities and risks.

Participation is a complex process in which at least two individuals, but usually a number of groups of individuals all must have the intention and the tools to engage in some kind of transactional process. Moreover: the external conditions must allow an social exchange that has enough 'degrees of freedom' to motivate the participants to strive at some type of self-chosen goal.

Participation can be endangered by a number of factors: characteristics of individuals, characteristics of social systems and characteristics of the physical and social conditions, but most of all by a mismatch in the combinations of characteristics. If the processes of participation in a particular social context fails, an individual is eventually at risk for marginalisation and the social context is at risk for losing an active partner in its further development. Though, as stated, all social contexts offer new opportunities, it is also clear that in child development the marginalisation in one context increases the chances for marginalisation in another. Children develop at an early stage in development 'internal working models' about social interactions (Bretherton, 1990) that serve as a first hypotheses in any new and unknown social interaction. Most expressions of youth delinquency can be seen as a manifestation of a process of marginalisation. A lack of connectedness and belonging is a fertile soil for egocentric, careless and undercontrolled behaviour.

Empowerment can be seen as an activity, directed at removing obstacles for participation and creating opportunities for self-originated participation in social contexts.

Applied to problems of delinquent youth, empowerment can be seen as an attempt to reclaim youth for participation in our social domains (Brendtro, Brockenleg and van Bockern, 1990).

2 Risks versus Protections

One of the discoveries of developmental psychopathology of recent years is that the origination of a number of serious and chronic problems in child and adolescent development is strongly related to the number of risk factors that can be observed in the child, his family or the broader social context of child and /or family. It seems that the effect of the risk factors is not determined by its content or severity, but mainly by its number. As Sameroff & Fiese stated; Although causal models have been sought in which singular variables uniquely determine aspects of child behaviour, a series of studies in a variety of areas have found that, except at the extremes of biological dysfunction, it is the number rather than the nature of risk factors that are the best determinants of outcome (1992, p121). Risk cumulation seems to endanger the participation of children and youth in a number of social systems. A series of studies has shown that behaviour problems, schoolproblems, psychological problems and delinquency all are strongly related to risk cumulation. For an overview of studies see Hermanns (1998). An example, with regard to delinquency is the longitudinal study of Farrington (1997). Boys at schoolage that are confronted with risk factors such as low income, large family-size, harsh parenting and regular conflicts between parents had an increased chance to become violent delin-

quents in adolescence. The number of risks present, influenced that chance. There was an almost linear relation between early risks and delinquency. If there was no riskfactor, the chance of becoming delinquent was only 3%. This chance increased to 31% for those boys who had to deal with five risks.

Risk cumulation can be outweighed by protective factors. Protective factors are generally defined as buffering factors in the child, within the family or in its social context (Yoshikawa, 1994). Risk factors are directly related to problems; protective factors function by definition indirectly through their interaction with risk factors. They are effective by preventing the drawbacks of risk factors. Protective factors can also be distinguished in the child (for example resiliency, intelligence, humour), in the family (strong positive attachments between family members), or the broader context (especially a supportive social network). A number of studies, summarised in Hermanns (1998) lend support to this hypothesis.

Given the analysis of chronic youth delinquency as one of the possible consequences of marginalisation, that in turn is related to risk cumulation, not compensated by protective mechanisms, the question can be raised what strategies of prevention and treatment are feasible.

3 Treatment versus Reclaiming

In a recent overviews of the effectiveness of interventions with delinquent youth and youth that is at risk for chronic delinquency (Tate, Repucci & Mulvey, 1995), it is concluded that there is a growing disappointment in the effects of current services and an increasing distrust in the programs that try to remediate and 'cure' young offenders. As a result the contemporaneous call for harsh repression and an unconditional use of criminal law, even with very young offenders, becomes even more louder. Tate et al (1995) come to the conclusion that therapeutic interventions fall short of evidence of their effectiveness. Nor cognitive-behavioral approaches, nor training of problem solving skills, nor training of social skills, nor family therapy, nor parent training show convincing results in reducing the recidivism of adolescent delinquents. Borduin (1994) in another review adds that more modern forms of intervention such as wilderness programs, restitution programs and guided-group interaction programs still have to prove their effectiveness. From other studies it becomes clear that 'boot camps' (military-like training) usually do not fulfil their promises. From the perspective of 'reclaiming youth' it is not unexpected that these therapeutic and re-educational efforts gain only limited results on recidivism. They are aimed at processes at an intrapsychological level or at processes at the microlevels of participation. On this limited field, these programs sometimes have impressive results. At same time they include elements of segregation: literally

because the interventions take place in institutions, offices or in far away places. In a psychological sense they convey a message of segregation because it is more or less explicit that the adolescents that are in these programs are different from normal youth because they are disturbed and need special treatment.

From this point of view not surprisingly, both Tate et al. and Borduin find that programs that take place in the own 'ecological niche' of the adolescents, that address themselves to the actual problems the individuals experience in their interactions with family members, school teachers, peer group members, providers of services and so on, are more successful. These programs can be seen as developed from a 'social ecological' perspective as formulated by Bronfenbrenner (1988). These programs work in the natural environment of adolescents, work with the social systems that are important in the daily life of youth and their families. In this way one could reach an improvement in the participation of adolescents in their own social context. The programs foster the daily participation of youth in the social systems of their natural environment and thus try to reclaim youth instead of trying to change them by therapeutic processes the individual psychological and social functioning in other settings.

In the following paragraph characteristics of program that are based on the social ecological approach will be described in more detail.

4 Creating New Opportunities for Participation

A number of types of programs work can be considered to work with a social ecological point of view. The underlying philosophy and theoretical background may differ. Some programs are based on concepts of empowerment, some rely on concepts of 'youth development' or are 'community based', others are based on general systems theory or on an analysis of the multiple determinants of delinquency and some programs rely more on social learning theory. The actual programs however have a number of common characteristics that justify the label of 'social ecological'. These characteristics are:

- 1 Interventions are directed at the key social contexts of youth: family, peer, school and neighbourhood. This means that as well the client as the these social systems are target of interventions. It often is not enough to change the internal working model of the adolescents. The way other people perceive the adolescent have to be changed as well.
- 2 Services are delivered in youth's natural environment; institutionalisation and 'office based' guidance is avoided;

- 3 The nature and intensity of interventions are individualised and flexible; if needed a daily contact between service providers and client must be possible;
- 4 Goals and methods are pragmatic, problem focused and action oriented; interventions are directed only at those aspects of the functioning of the adolescent that are most pertinent;
- 5 Though the interventions are aimed at actual problems, the solutions for the problems are sought in protective factors such as individual resiliency, social support networks and the strengths of youths and families;
- 6 The agenda of the actual individual program is highly influenced by the clients themselves. Often there is some form of formal agreement between client and professional on this agenda;
- 7 There is a coordination of available services departing from the problems and goals that are chosen to work on; sometimes the financing of services is controlled and tailored by a casemanager.

The following groups or 'families' of programs in which these elements in different combinations can be found are:

Wraparound Programs

In this type of programs an interdisciplinary team from different agencies, often including the youth and his parents, develop a service plan. In this plan a network of services, but also informal social support is created around the client. Services are individualised and coordinated. The result is a package of services, guidance, treatment and supervision. This package is flexible. It is regularly evaluated and adjusted to the development of the clients and their problems. Usually there is a professional case-manager that guards the process and organises the interagency collaboration. Examples on the field of delinquency are 'The ecosystem Natural Wrap-Around Model' (Northey, Primer & Christensen, 1997), 'The Alaska Youth Initiative' (VandenBerg & Minton, 1987). A schoolbased wraparound program is described by Eber, Nelson & Miles (1997). In this type of program advantage is taken from the fact that children spend a considerable amount of time in school.

Intensive Family Preservation (IFP)

IFP is directed at those children and youth that are imminent for out-of-home placement. This type of program can also be tailored to families with delinquent youth. Such a program is for example 'Family Ties' in New York (de-

scribed in Borduin, 1994). As in other IFP's, a family preservationist is assigned to a family and works in the family for a limited amount of time. The method is time-intensive, goal directed and leans on social learning theory. Cooperation is sought with the schools in the neighbourhood, employers, and other relevant parts of the community. The effects of the program are evaluated by a judge. If necessary, out-of-home-placement takes place after all.

Multisystemic Therapy (MST)

Probably the most well known and most researched program is MST Henggeler et al, 1996, Borduin, 1994). It has much in common with Intensive Family Preservation Programs in the sense that is home-based, works with concrete goals, is intensive and time-limited. The difference according to Borduin (1994) is that it uses an number of 'traditional' therapeutic techniques to deal with the multidimensional nature of delinquent behaviour. Formal (psychodiagnostic and family-) assessment is a starting point. Therapeutic techniques stemming from cognitive behaviour therapy and systemic family therapy are claimed to be an important difference with other home-based programs. MST is one of the few programs that documented its effects in an number of follow-up studies.

Intensive Probation Supervision

In intensive probation supervision, juvenile delinquents have frequent contacts with their probation officer (several times a week). The probation officer tries to arrange appropriate services and therapy for his pupil, while at the same time monitoring intensively his or hers behaviour, thus controlling the youth's activities. From the perspective of primary prevention with at risks groups, Family Support programs are the social-ecological branch of the early intervention programs. In Family Support programs, an demand oriented approach is chosen to help families with young children with their daily problems and stresses. The help is given in the home and community. Often, workers from health services are the homevisitors. Quality day care is sometimes a part of the program. Zigler, Taussig and Black (1992) and Yoshikawa (1994) discuss a number of long-term successful programs.

5 Conclusion

To reclaim marginalised youth for a nondestructive participation in the social systems of society is not an easy task. A massive dedication to helping those adolescents with the accumulation of problems and risks they have to deal

with every day is necessary. This attitude results in working with high intensity and very close by juvenile delinquents, their families, peer groups, schools, neighbourhoods and jobs.

It is probably an illusion that marginalisation that is rooted a complex social context and develops in a number of years in one's personal history can be changed into productive participation in a couple of months. So the efforts to reclaim youth should last as long as is necessary. Rearing children and adolescents demands time and patience.

Only by this investment it will be possible to reclaim for an active participation in our society, those adolescents that in current policy increasingly are considered to be without a future.

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6.4 A City District Helps its Kids - Short Report on the Activities of the Elementary School "Roncallistrasse"

Reinhold Gerhard/Etta Fennekohl
Elementary School Roncallistrasse

What We Know

Our elementary school is located in the district of Friedrich-Wilhelmshütte in the town of Troisdorf. This district consists of the old town centre, a typical working class housing estate from the beginning of the 20th century, as well as some more recently built one-family housing units. There is a variety of pubs and restaurants, and club activities take place here. The Roncallistrasse divides the district off from an area of new buildings. Several years ago, some highrises were built, which produced a great deal of social tension. As a specific counter-measure, one-family houses were erected, which did not prove to be very successful. Most of the children and adolescents live in the area of new buildings. Thus, the deficient social structures of our district are reflected in its kindergartens and schools. Most of our approximately 400 boy and girl students come from families with a high degree of social tension, are foreign children, about 25% are children from Eastern bloc immigrant families German origin, and there is a sizeable increase of single-parent households.

What We Have Learnt

Children from families where social stress is more or less conspicuous suffer from an increasing lack of psycho-social care. As a rule, this means that children's performance drops to some extent in the areas of concentration, perceptiveness, social behaviour, refined motor activity etc., which results in severe learning and performance handicaps. Comprehensive research has shown that in the most recent age group that started school, only 20% of all children were entirely competent. If these handicaps are not removed at an early date, they will lead to severe personality deficits and, consequently, professional and/or social failure together with the high price that society as a whole will have to pay for such failure.

Working on Solutions

We have deliberately chosen to work with a class teacher and a reform-pedagogical approach over a period of four years in order to build up a highly stable student-teacher-relationship. As a result, the learning behaviour and performance of all children, and the weak ones in particular, are expected to develop positively. However, with the equipment at our disposal, we have not been able to deal with the fact that the children's ability to learn, on the one hand, and to perform, on the other, are drifting further and further apart. Teaching staff have looked for ways to solve the problem and have come up with a "Support program for confronting problems that elementary school students have with life and learning in specific school settings". It is an essential part of this program to sensitize the elementary school for the surrounding environment and to create a network of all parties involved in child care: associations, police, politicians, youth welfare workers, physicians, charities, kindergartens, churches, other schools etc. This initiative runs under the programmatic heading: "District Conference – a City District Helps Its Kids".

The initiative aims to involve local organisations and various individuals directly in the morning activities of the school by encouraging them to help single children or small groups of children with artistically creative, athletic and other specific tasks of the support program. As a rule, children in such specific, clearly delimited groups do find those personal relations that enable them to handle normal lessons, and on the other hand, well-performing students of both sexes can only be given special support in this way. Meanwhile, we have been able to realise many projects at our school, and we have succeeded beyond our expectations. Therefore, we want to continue this kind of development at our school and, at the same time, suggest to other schools to get involved in our kind of extended, pedagogical activities, thus contributing to cost-saving prevention in a carefully designed manner. Concurrently, the district conference's initiative, restricted to the school, has led to a new, independent work team consisting of the participants mentioned above and co-ordinating the district's entire youth care while considering preventive solutions as well. These activities are managed jointly by our school and the youth welfare office.

Our Projects

The networking mentioned above has led to various projects within the school which we would like to introduce briefly. All projects take place during regular school hours!

*Project 1: "Dialogue between Generations" or "Seniors Help Juniors"
(honorary)*

We took over the working program designed by the Ministry of Family Affairs ("Dialogue between Generations – Learning from One Another") and specifically asked the grandparents of our children to help us.

Since then, a number of older men and women have been looking after groups of six children each, supporting them in the areas of concentration, social competence, cooking, dancing and handicrafts.

Project 2: Music Therapy (remunerated professional)

Every week, a trained music therapist works with two groups of eight children each in the area of relaxation.

Project 3: Children Visit Parents at Their Place of Work

Children get to know the working world of their parents and thus both sides achieve a greater understanding for each other.

Project 4: Organisations Participate in a Project Week and School Party

For two years now, various organisations have been looking after children during our project week and have been actively involved in the school party. In this area, networking has been optimal and a positive synergy effect has resulted.

Project 5: Everybody is Welcome to the Consultation Service of the Youth Welfare Office

Once a week, a social worker from the local youth welfare office comes to the school and consults any parent, child or teacher who is interested; the range of topics that can be discussed is limited.

Project 6: Parents Help Children (honorary)

We have been able to persuade more and more parents to do exercises in their children's classes together with their classmates.

Project 7: Social Education Workers Join In

In the context of the city administration's job creation program, two part-time workers were put at our disposal who did social therapy with individual children or small groups, focussing on anti-aggression-training and strategies for avoiding and solving conflict situations.

Project 8: Psycho-Motor Activity (at the planning stage)

With the aid of specialists, we are working out a concept to give children with perceptive disorders psycho-motor support.

Project 9: A Literacy and Language Support Program for Parents (at the planning stage)

Many parents cannot read or write and/or have no knowledge of the German language. In cooperation with vocational colleges (VHS), we want to help.

Project 10: A Children's Parliament

Children are the future guardians of our society. When they are adults, they will devise policies for their own children and policies for senior citizens, i.e. for their parents, i.e. for us. That is why, in a children's parliament or forum, we gently introduce our school kids to different kinds of active participation.

In all our considerations, we start from the idea that human beings have a need for inner and outer harmony and, for this reason, cannot bear disharmonious structures.

If their inner psycho-physical balance is destroyed, they will also destroy their environment. They will spread fear by using violence, they will find gratification in vandalism, or they will escape into life-destroying addictions. Networking is meant to help us counteract the lack of psycho-social care and, consequently, a psycho-physical imbalance that is apparent in many of our children and adolescents. We want to support and strengthen them in the development of their personalities and help them to find a perspective for their lives. This will give them the courage to tackle life's many problems.

6.5 The SPRINT Project: Empowerment of Positive Behaviour and Competences of Adolescents

Yvonne Duivenvoorden
Paedological Institute Duivendrecht

The SPRINT project is being done at the Paedological Institute in Duivendrecht. This institute provides treatment for children with learning and behavioural problems and their parents. There is outpatient, residential and daycare treatment, special education, research and student education. We work together with the Free University of Amsterdam (VU). At the department of Behavioural therapy (GT) we develop and evaluate new treatment programs. These programs draw upon the competence model, which implies that we try to learn clients the skills they need in their (daily) lives. Building competence means teaching new concrete skills, diminishment of stressors, activation or mobilization of protective factors, a multi system approach and empowerment: focus on someone's strengths.

Prevention

Our treatments have been quite successful so far, but we consider it a pity that people usually seek help very late, when their problems are already quite serious. If they had come earlier, the problems might have been prevented and less effort would have been needed. This also concerns children who develop criminal behaviour. It's better to provide intervention for children who are at risk of developing a criminal career. Since those children and their parents usually don't come to us, because they don't experience big problems, we have to go to them.

The question is how to find them. We decided to look for them at regular elementary schools, and aim at boys in the age of 7 to 11 years old. At this age their parents usually still have quite some control over them. The school and teachers usually already see which children are at risk. Girls usually show internalising problems.

SPRINT

We started a pilot study: the SPRINT project. This stands for Study Prevention and INTERvention.

Five persons work on the project, SPRINT team: Wim Slot is supervisor, I myself am the project manager, doing interviews. The people from Morocco I contact together with Ahmed Afkirin Bram Orobio the Castro develops the instrument, and Maarten Speekenbrink analyses the data.

After having found financial support from health insurance ZAO, we talked to two city district administrations to get their support and choose schools which could participate. The two city district administrations were Bos and Lommer and Amsterdam North. The school to participate should be average elementary schools.

Selection of Elementary Schools in Amsterdam

Four schools were chosen. Of those four, three were willing to participate and one didn't want to. At that school the management team decided not to participate, because they didn't think the teachers would manage it. Unfortunately we never got a chance to talk to the teachers themselves. The three schools that did participate are the Tyl Uilenspiegel school, the Dorus Rijkers school and the Amstelmeerscholen.

At these schools we extensively explained to the teachers the importance and implications of the project for the teachers and their schoolkids. The teachers get a chance to prevent children from becoming criminal. It means that they have to invest time, that they have to take our questions about the children seriously. We won't tell their answers to the parents. If they help us now, we might be able to help them and the children later on. We also give the school some money for the time they invest. They need to trust us and to go for the new approach.

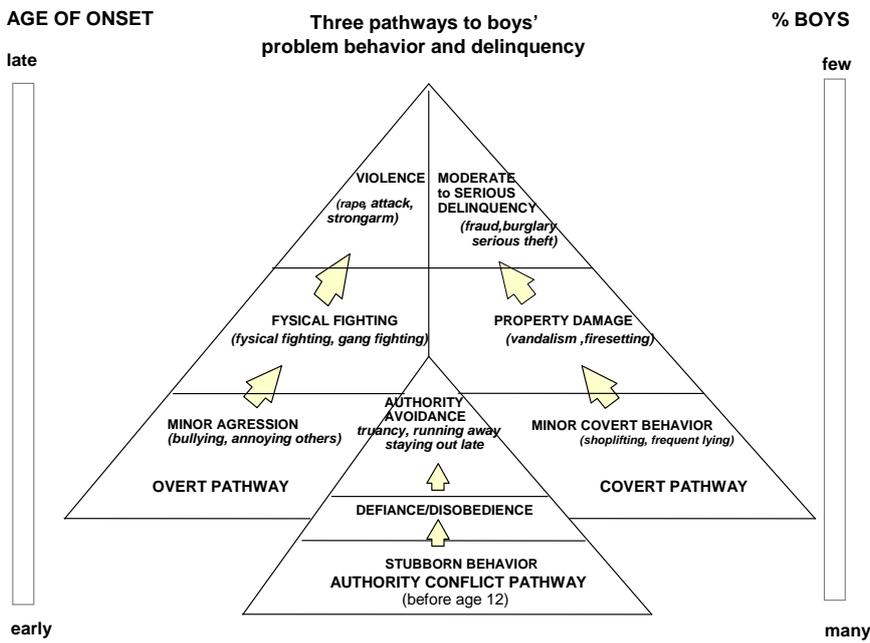
When the management team and the teachers were convinced, we looked for a contact person at the school. This had to be someone who already knows all the children and has good relationships with them and their parents. The contact person plays an important role in the continuity of the project at that school. In one school the contact person was the intern counsellor, at the two other schools it was the assistant manager.

Risk Factors

How do we choose the children who are likely to develop a criminal career? When you look at research different risk factors have been found to predict criminal development. For example children from broken families are more at risk, as well as children from poor families, children who have parents with poor educational skills and children who have a criminal father or older criminal brother. However these factors are not suitable as a topic in the approachment of parents.

Pyramid of Loeber

Loeber is doing a huge longitudinal study in Pittsburgh in which 2500 boys participate. He finds that the best way to predict future criminality is to look at manifestations of anti-social behaviour at an early age.



Source: Loeber and Hay, 1994

Serious forms of anti-social behaviour are at the top. These behaviours are preceded by light forms underneath. Many children show light forms of anti-social behaviour, and only few reach the top at a later age. The pyramid shows three different pathways.

One is the development of authority conflicts. For example, at an early age children show stubborn behaviour. Later on this might develop into avoiding authority like playing truant at school or walking away from home.

The second pathway is the development of overt anti-social behaviour. This may start with teasing and bullying other children and might develop into physical violence and rape.

The third is the development of covert anti-social behaviour. This starts with for example with lying and stealing small things and might develop into vandalism, setting things on fire and stealing big amounts of things or money.

It's important to mention that someone can develop into either one or a combination of the three pathways. For example, a child can disobey his parents and/or teacher and fight quite seriously with other children as well. So he shows authority conflicts as well as overt anti-social behaviour.

In the SPRINT project we work with Loeber's findings. We try to identify boys with anti-social behaviour that may indicate a criminal development. When we contact them in time, we might prevent them from reaching the top. In general the ones who are at highest risk are the ones that start at a very early age, show frequently and/or seriously forms and different forms of anti-social behaviour.

Experimenters and Persisters

Many children show anti-social behaviour, often only for a short period of time. They like to experiment. If children continue to do so over a longer period of time a pattern of more serious persistent anti-social behaviour may develop. To select the persisters from the experimenters the project should not have only one measurement, but several ones over a longer period.

Instruments: a/o. WAS-list

For the project we developed an instrument on the basis of Loeber's findings. This instrument is called the WAS list, and is a translation of an instrument of Loeber to the Dutch situation. It consists of 45 questions that deal with all different kinds of observable anti-social behaviour that are typical for the three pathways in the pyramid. For every behaviour we ask whether the child has shown this the last six months. If this is the case we ask how many times he

has done it the last six month, and how serious the most serious time was. For example we ask:

Did steal during the last six months something at school?
O No 1 Yes

You mentioned that stole something at school during the last six months at school

how often did steal something?
freq:.....

what was the estimated price of the most valuable item that stole?
.....guilders

did stole the goods by himself or together with others?
1 by himself 2 with others

Source: Paedologisch Instituut Duivendrecht

We ask the same questions to teachers, parents and children at three points in time. Everyone answers as far as he or she knows about the child. In this way we can compare the answers with one another and over time.

Since this is a new instrument, there are no norms yet to compare children with. For this reason we also use the cbc: Child Behaviour Check List for parents and the trf Teacher Report Format for teachers. These questionnaires have been used frequently in studies and have good norms. The lists cover over a hundred questions about all different kinds of behaviour of children.

Next to these instruments we developed an instrument which asks for the positive points of a child. For example, "which sports he likes to engage in?", and "give examples of things your child does at home that you like". We do this to change the focus on the positive aspects of the child. We start the interview with these questions to facilitate the conversation.

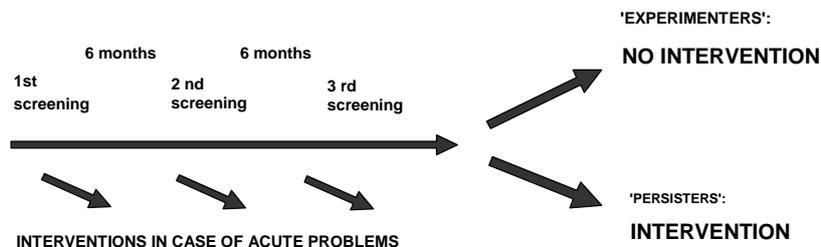
Finally we ask a few questions on family circumstances and earlier experiences with youthcare. If people already get care we don't want to interrupt, and only want to be additional if necessary.

Setup of the Study

The setup of our project is as follows: At three points in time, with half a year in between we talk with teachers, parents and children about the child's behaviour with the aid of the WAS-list, CBC/TRF, positive points. When children develop more serious forms of anti-social behaviour and the teacher and par-

ents are concerned, we consider them as persisters and offer some form of help. This can be an individual or group training in educational skills for parents, an individual training in social skills for the children or a combination of them, depending on the need. Beside we are also starting to think of counseling the teachers if necessary. If there is an acute case, help will start sooner.

**SPRINT: Study PRevention and INTervention
Children aged 7-11, with antisocial behaviors**



INFORMANTS:
teachers
parents
boys

INSTRUMENTS;
TRF / WAS
CBC / WAS
WAS

INTERVENTIONS
training behavior management
parent training
cognitive behavioral skilltraining

Source: Paedologisch Instituut. afd. Gedragstherapie Projecten

Selection of Boys at the First Measurement

The selection of the children at point one, is done on basis of a global screening filled in by the teachers. Of every boy in the class the teacher was asked to estimate globally the seriousness of anti-social behaviour and of risk factors in his environment of the child (for example home situation, having “wrong” friends etc). At first the children were chosen who either scored high on anti-social behaviour or on risk. We found that if we hadn’t taken into consideration the risk factor, 91 % of the children would have been chosen on basis of the problem factor anyhow.

After the first global selection of children we asked the teachers to fill in the WAS and TRF. Of those children who were still scoring high, we decided to contact the parents. Instead of coming with the bad message that the school thinks their child is at risk to become criminal, we brought it in a much more positive way.

Contacting Parents

The contactperson of school first contacted the parents to tell them that the school participates in a project which will be helpful for their child. The parents get a brochure with pictures of the project workers and the main message explained. SPRINT means extra attention for children and help if necessary. The school emphasizes the importance of meeting the SPRINT workers. After more detailed information from the SPRINT team they can decide whether they want to participate or not.

When parents talk to us at school we explain that SPRINT is a project to prevent children from failing in society. Only three schools can participate and only a few children. School selects those children who they think can benefit most from the project. We can give extra attention to your child and monitor his development. We assume that your child doesn't show serious behavioural problems, but we like to prevent this from happening. When he does show behavioural problems over a period of time and help is needed we can offer this to you. We like you to feel free and talk honestly about your child. The things you say we won't tell your child or his teacher. To them we say the same. You don't have to pay for participation. You even get a small gift for your time investment. If you prefer you can think about it a few days before deciding. When you decide to participate the next meeting can be either at your house or at school, whatever you prefer.

When a parent participates we talk to their child at school and explain the child about the project in a comparable manner. We ask the child whether he wishes to participate.

Results so far

Participation/ Reactions of Parents

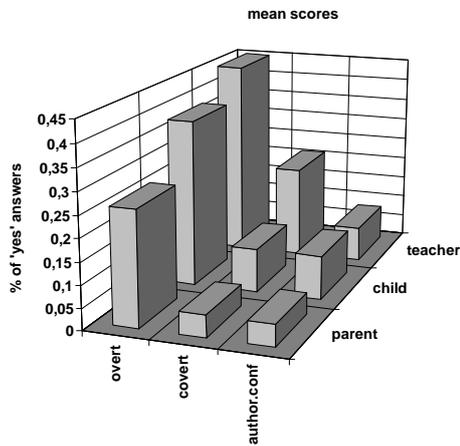
Of the 38 parents that have been contacted by the school 31 participated (82%) and 7 refused (12%). The reactions of the parents were as follows:

- 12 were positive, and concerned about their child already;
- 11 were neutral. They didn't worry about their child, but were willing to participate if it was good for him;
- 8 were at first negative, but changed their minds later on;
- 7 refused, 5 didn't want to meet the project workers, 2 we couldn't get interested enough.

Of the parents who participated, all the children were willing to participate. Children from different ethnicities participate. There are children whose parents are from Morocco, Turkey, Surinam or a few other countries as well as children who have originally Dutch parents. The participation of ethnicities seem to be a reflection of the population at the schools.

Results First Measurement

Our findings are that teachers mention anti-social behaviour most, followed by children and then by parents.



We are now at the point that we contact the parents for the second time. Since we can contact them directly it takes less time than in the beginning. Of the 15 parents we have contacted again, only one quitted. His child doesn't have problems, he says. (The teacher agrees)

In general less anti-social behaviour is reported. However in two cases direct help is asked for. We are working on that.

Future Plans

In the end of the year we hope to finish the third measurement, and decide which children, parents and teachers need help.

We are trying to get funds to apply the project at other schools as well, and to make it part of the youthcare system.

The Counsel of Child Protection is also interested in making use of the SPRINT model for children under 12 year of age who commit crimes and are too young for justitional intervention. Then the model of course should be adjusted.

6.6 "Preventive Youth Work": An Action Program of the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations in Bavaria

Martina Liebe
Bavarian Youth Ring Munich

In June 1994 the Ministers' Council of the Bavarian State Government decided to introduce the action program "Preventive Youth Work" as a new support program for youth and community work at "Land"-level. Basically, this decision was motivated by the intense debates of the topic "Youth and Violence" which were taking place in the general public at that time. Thus, the State Government's report: "Youth and Violence – Children and Adolescents as Victims and Perpetrators", which was published that year, referred to the need for "out-reach kinds of youth work and street work, with the aim of taking preventive action and supporting the social integration of adolescent groups, particularly at the local authority level". In spite of these political implications suggesting a direct, crime-preventive approach based on order policies, the action program "Preventive Youth Work" has a general preventive concept in mind. This concept, in line with the eighth National Youth Report of the Federal Government, considers prevention to be primarily a socio-political and local government activity to improve adolescents' living conditions, to support their education and to offer them strategies for organising their environment. Consequently, we see acts of violence committed by adolescent groups as possibly just short-term phenomena among other kinds of deviant behaviour or disorders of young people – obtrusive and inobtrusive as they may be, attracting the attention of the public or simply being ignored. First and foremost, this deviant behaviour points to problems with social integration, life-style and identity, and these problems have to be faced in a preventive manner. Accordingly, the action program assumes a rising need for integrative support and orientation programs, in the area of youth work as well as in others. Appropriate forms and methods are to be developed, e.g. out-reach kinds of work, in order to approach young people with integration problems. "Supportive measures want to contribute to the expansion and improvement of youth work services in local areas. The overall goal is to strengthen preventive and integrative youth work services, especially with regard to young people whose development has been impaired or jeopardised by their life circumstances or for other reasons." (Guidelines).

Sixteen projects have been supported between 1994 and 1998, each of them for a three-year term. The next promotion period will begin in 1999. With the overall goal in mind, practical projects emphasise the following points:

*1 Preventive Effects through Contacts with
Young People Using
Out-reach Methods*

Projects are often triggered when adolescent groups cause public disturbances which, in turn, cause politicians to react and intervene against deviant behaviour ranging from unacceptable noise levels through vandalism to drug and alcohol abuse. The main goals this project is trying to achieve by making contact with young people are the following:

- to create a social infrastructure of acceptance that enables young people to participate in social life on equal terms;
- to develop an early warning system for problems adolescents might have in their community and to sensitise the institutional environment;
- to mediate between adults and adolescents and to develop the community's resources for the benefit of young people;
- to prevent social segregation by offering environment-oriented, low-threshold support and by stabilising behaviourally deviant adolescents at risk.

*2 Preventive Effects of Youth Work Achieved by
Exploiting the
Possibilities of Personality Development and
Social
Integration in So-called Problem Groups*

In the context of the action program, our aim here is to address the problems of foreign, mostly Turkish, children and adolescents. We also want to reach those children and adolescents who belong to German-origin families having migrated from former Eastern bloc countries. The "classical" responsibilities of youth work are to be made available for these target groups that are difficult to get to:

- to stimulate active leisure time behaviour;
- to qualify young people for assuming responsibility;

- to expand and improve leisure time opportunities in neighbourhoods;
- to give timely support and to cushion the impact of problems encountered at school, in violent situations and while looking for an apprentice training place.

3 Preventive Effects Resulting from Specific Services for Girls and Women

As a rule, girls and young women express their problems in a less spectacular manner and, therefore, hardly ever offend public decency. Hence, their problems are frequently not noticed until it is too late to take preventive action. A preventive concept designed specifically for girls does not necessarily focus on publicly offensive deviant behaviour, but rather takes up certain elements of the female condition and gives girls and young women information, counselling and support services appropriate to their problems. Activities are called for that strengthen the self-esteem of girls in the circumstances they live in, show them how to cope with unreasonable social demands, and offer them (counselling) opportunities for planning their leisure time more creatively.

Retrospectively, considering the practical work done in the supported projects, we can emphasise the following aspects of prevention: The client environment is particularly important, and its various aspects must be included in any activities defined as preventive. An infrastructure has to be created, or existing possibilities developed further, a network of personnel and institutions must be established to deal with clients and contribute to prevention – in short: we have to get involved in shaping the circumstances of young people in their concrete, present-day surroundings and in making new environments possible.

Beyond that, prevention must be considered as a process of mediation. In view of certain adolescent problems leading to deviant behaviour, special people are required who, with their specialist knowledge and insight into the adolescent scene, help to break down communication barriers to the surrounding adult world (i.e. neighbours, teachers, mayors, policemen/-women etc.). Frequently, this process of mediation in itself already leads to a de-escalation of current problems and creates a basis for further preventive measures.

Leisure-time and educational programs in prevention-oriented work with young people whose life circumstances are difficult in many respects have a special status, simply because the young people in question demand them. Creating such options is an essential part of pedagogical field work; there is an obvious need, however, for additional counselling and support services, which youth work must help to access. This can be achieved either through youth work measures (which, as a rule, quickly leads to the question of capacity and

competence) or by taking advantage of other institutions. However, a relationship of personal trust to youth workers is often an important prerequisite for getting institutions involved successfully. From a holistic perspective, this means that youth work has to take up and integrate into its ongoing efforts, the need for counselling and support that adolescents have. It must also consider that leisure-time and educational programs, with their specific features of openness and their regard for adolescents' interests, are an obvious first step towards more comprehensive forms of support.

The action program "preventive youth work", as a support instrument of youth policy at "Land"-level, as well as individual projects with their practical experience, programs and activities, are located at a point where various developments and interests intersect. They should be taken into account wherever concepts are being discussed. In terms of policy, the action program as a whole, but also most of the projects, belong in the context of juvenile delinquency and violence. Considering how the problem of juvenile delinquency and violence is being discussed, above all, in political circles, the action program supports to some extent – and willingly or not – a tendency to give delinquent, as opposed to, mainstream behaviour the label of "youth violence". Moreover, every project is faced with the problem that discussions about violence are narrowed down to the question of how youth service measures can eliminate this "educational deficiency". Developments until now have shown that positive effects of this approach are not at all unlikely, but what is actually required are pedagogically reflected statements on the issues that counter public prejudice. The distinct community orientation of most projects is a feature of these critical reflections. At the same time, every project activated in this context obviously contributes to stigmatising young people, at least temporarily. Not least for this reason, projects, when defining their goals, emphasise the element of mediation as a means of overcoming stigmatisation. The success of prevention depends essentially on the extent to which young people's self-organisation, in the sense of empowerment or helping them to help themselves, can be developed or strengthened in the context of preventive and, in particular, out-reach youth work. This could be the promising starting-point of a strategy that wants to avoid or overcome incorrect problem descriptions. A potentially high degree of professionalism can also benefit the curative access to clients.

Goals and criteria for success must be related to young people's situation. The success of individual and social integration is a complex task involving all kinds of instabilities, individual ups and downs and, nowadays, personal risks due to the conflicting demands that young people have to meet as they grow up. It cannot be denied that children and adolescents are increasingly affected by the consequences of growing poverty, so that the classical problems of social discrimination will require more attention. Hence, preventive youth work

must examine problem definitions concerning the behaviour of target groups, which might be inappropriate. Within the action program, there is a larger number of projects in so-called socially underprivileged residential areas where the infrastructure for youth work is below average or does not exist at all. Projects in surroundings of that kind encounter the additional problem of having to function as an inexpensive substitute for necessary, yet non-existing, institutions, and in the end, these institutions are more likely to be prevented than promoted for this very reason.

Standards of normality for varying life-styles, or the possibility of redefining these standards, can no longer be taken for granted. Hence, demands are made not only on young people themselves, having to find their bearings between autonomy and integration in this particular phase of their lives, but preventive youth work, the out-reach variant in particular, faces special challenges, as well. Probably, a strong and exclusive focus on target groups, following the pattern of social disintegration or marginality, is no longer sufficient for developing practical concepts. Preventive youth work must be extraordinarily sensitive in its handling of the problem: which are the features that determine disintegration and marginality; what are the processes of intervention that should be introduced accordingly. Preventive youth work should, therefore, break with the tradition of street work and turn its attention from the concept of administering social marginality to the concept of giving guidance for young people's lives, i.e. supporting their development.

The fact that young people's situation nowadays is becoming more diverse and instable puts pressure on the existing organisational and institutional forms of youth work to change and to develop. In this context, analysing young people's environment, determining their status in the community and coordinating the development of youth welfare services are indispensable instruments for dealing with the circumstances and needs of youths at risk. Without these instruments, there is a real danger that preventive youth work, along with other services, will help to reinforce, rather than phase out, the distinction between "good" and "bad" youths and the segregation of the latter.

6.7 Out-reaching Youth Work in Rural Areas: Empowerment and Prevention through Mediation

Martina Blug
County Council Dachau - Streetwork

The administrative district of Dachau with its 17 communities and approximately 122.000 inhabitants is located to the north-west of the Bavarian capital of Munich. On the one hand, its structure is characterised by its proximity to Munich (especially the communities in the south); on the other hand, the communities can be described as essentially rural.

At first glance, young people under the age of 24 living here, about 34% of the population, are well provided for. There is a large variety of district schools, housing conditions are not dramatic, and in three communities + the city of Dachau, leisure time provision was offered in youth centres with full-time personnel. Youth groups exist in many clubs. Nevertheless, young people show deviant behaviour again and again by "hanging around" playgrounds, scribbling on walls, taking drugs and roaming through the streets shouting right-wing slogans – thus depriving neighbourhood residents of their night's rest.

It seems that more and more holes are appearing in the web of education, commercial consumption and leisure time provision – a web that tries to organise and to regulate everything. Young people do not find their way around this wide range of what society has to offer, or they reject it altogether. Although young people seem to have a lot of different things at their disposal in this environment, they lack such important assets as freedom to develop and the sympathy of others.

Adolescents themselves fight against the lack of sympathy they find in the adult culture and its attempts to make their plans for them. Whether it's graffiti on the walls or excessive use of drugs in their gangs, their criticism always turns in some way against the contradictions and dishonesties of society. That is presumably why the "adult world" is so stunned by the so-called "adolescent problems" of violence, drugs and political extremism. Adults feel robbed of their social order and exposed in their delusions.

The Project and its New Approach

When in 1995 the project of out-reaching youth work began in the administrative district of Dachau, many a citizen may have thought: "The social gaps will be filled now", "Hitherto inaccessible youths will be taken care of by a social emergency service", "Someone will get a handle on violence and drugs".

But the district did not need social workers for marginal groups, no one had to go to battle against windmills. On the one hand, a disastrous youth scene hardly existed. On the other hand, it is well-known that phenomena like violence and drugs cannot be dealt with by non-professionals. Many communities did not have a person who is capable of bringing estranged adolescents closer again to their parents and their fellow citizens, a person who can build a bridge between young people looking for new spaces to develop and an adult world that, apart from contradictions and delusions, can also provide many resources and opportunities.

Goal: Prevention through Mediation

The way was right: to leave the established surroundings of adolescents and reach out to a generation that had conquered the street as a last free space, being confronted there with all kinds of dangers. But the goal had to be redefined. What was required was not provision and support, but mediation and prevention, taking into consideration young people's needs and ideas. The preventive approach of out-reach youth work has the following goals:

- to recognise problems as early as possible;
- to elucidate the causal interrelations of problems in their social context;
- to prevent an increase of violence and drug use among young people.

Along with specific prevention (offering low-threshold help and counselling), great importance is attached to non-specific prevention. Non-specific prevention is considered here to be an act of mediation. It finds expression in:

- making adolescents' needs known to the community and general public;
- acting as a mediator in conflict situations between adolescents and adults;
- helping adolescents gain ground in new social settings;
- making current support services known to adolescents.

These activities are nourished by the conviction that a greater understanding between two generations will result from bringing the worlds they live in, and which now are drifting apart, closer together again, so that the energies and resources on both sides can be used in a positive way. If the commitment of citizens, the creativity of adolescents, the interest of politicians, the financing of business people and the services of social institutions are taken up and made

comprehensible to everyone involved, there is a better chance for young people between the age of 12 and 21 to live through this difficult time more happily and with stronger motivation.

A Big Example Among Many Little Ones

Three years ago, I had already made contact with a group of about ten young people in a larger community (approximately 6400 inhabitants) in the northern district of Dachau. I encountered boredom, and common leisure time activities were rare. There was annoyance with the community that “had no time for them”, and trouble with neighbours was programmed. On two trips involving regular meetings, I was rapidly able to build up trust. Contacts were established with the community administration, the mayor, the community youth representative, and with some parents. There were reports on the young people’s needs. First and foremost, clarification was required on both sides concerning the defensive attitudes of these young people and their related destructiveness, as they had occurred before. On the one hand, prejudice related to drug misuse and destructiveness had to be abandoned. On the other hand, the young people had to be motivated strongly, so that candour and optimism could be restored.

The community was looking for a container and a plot of land where it could be put up. The young people were supposed to meet there. They helped with the search and eventually lost their inhibitions about communicating with administration employees. Parents and friends became active, also helped with the search, and the interest of the general public in the topic of leisure time provision grew.

The container as a meeting place did not materialise! Surprisingly, however, community rooms were suddenly made available to us. They were in a deplorable condition, but seemed more than suitable as far as size, location and requirements were concerned.

The rooms were redecorated every Saturday for half a year and every day during the holidays. The number of adolescents actively and regularly involved grew from 15 to about 40 within the first two weeks. Plaster was knocked from the walls, floors were replaced etc. – activities that did not make it easy to persevere. The young people stayed on the ball, much to the surprise of adults who did not think them capable of “slaving away” like that. Their ideas were taken seriously, they could prove themselves and learn from mistakes, which harmed no one and generated a lot of fun.

A great deal of shopping had to be done for the renovation work, and so the community as a whole could follow the project and each phase of its realisation. All the furnishings for 120 square metres of club space were provided

through donations of money and other gifts. Our opening celebration during the culture festival of the district had many visitors and was appreciated by the district head of administration, by the mayor, the district councillors and youth office representatives.

Meanwhile, the youth centre is open on three days, there is co-determination and co-responsibility in all areas of the operation, and regular activities are geared entirely to adolescent needs. Regular contacts to the community administration and an interest in community policies have become a matter of course. Community affairs and the youth centre belong together.

Empowerment through the Connection of Street-work and Community Work

Leisure time provision in its twofold approach can be a model for the future: a combination of the out-reach approach (streetwork) and the social approach (community work). In summary, the concept may be described as follows:

- out-reach youth work leaves the established social settings of youth welfare services and accesses the world young people really live in;
- existing resources are used;
- the target group is defined through social settings and not through problems and deficiencies;
- out-reach work and a social approach are combined;
- specific mediation tasks are drawn up;
- a consistently preventive goal is focussed on.

The various skills of young people, their creativity and positive criticism, enhance the joint effort at developing youth social work with a view to the future.

The two approaches must be seen in connection with the standards of out-reach youth work which should always dominate interactions with young people: voluntariness, acceptance, low-threshold action, openness, needs-orientation, everyday-life-orientation, presence-on-location, focus on relationships, prevention instead of intervention, holistic approach and continuity.

6.8 The "New Perspectives"-Project in Amsterdam

Hyacinth Dashorn
Project 'Nieuwe Perspectieven' Amsterdam

Target Groups

At the start of the intervention we find that clients have a long row up problems, often in almost every field. They have been arrested several times and many of them have been sentenced or do still have to appear in court. Many have dropped out of school, or are in the verge of being kicked out.

When they are above the age of compulsory education they have left school without qualifying and are unskilled. Many times the problems at home have been so hectic that they have been kicked out at home, have no work and no legal income. Not seldom their health condition is quite bad.

65 percent of our clients is from Moroccan origin. This percentage is too high in comparison with the police – figures as well as population-figures in our district. We find that the fact that we have a number of Moroccan workers, which is still not common in youth care, is of influence on this percentage. 15 percentage originate from Surinam and 10 percent each from Turkey and Holland. Less than 10 percent are girls.

Method

The method we use is of a short intensive and ambulant nature. Short means: an average of about nine weeks. Intensive means that in those nine weeks the worker has about one hundred /eighty hours to work with the client. Nine weeks may seem a very short period but when we compare the hours with the time usually spent on clients in regular youth care we see that to reach a hundred hours more than a year is needed. Contacts have a very high frequency. Normally the worker meets his client and important persons in the clients social environment almost daily.

This made possible by strictly maintaining a low caseload of about four clients per worker per month. The client can reach the worker by using a semaphore-number 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

As much as possible the workers meet clients in their own situation: at home, at school, in a youth-centre or a coffeeshop. During the first weeks the

main activity is aimed at getting as much information about the client and his social environment as possible. The worker always speaks with parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles, with friends, teachers and former teachers, and all other persons who are or have been playing a role of any importance in the client's life.

Information from other institutions for youth care with whom the client has had contacts earlier is also taken in view. We are not looking for all the things that have gone wrong although even without asking these are first things you hear. We do not search for traumas that may have their origin in early childhood.

We know of course that these problems may have a lot of influence in the lives of our clients. But we also know that it is very difficult to get a good view on these problems, and even if that is possible experience learns that conventional therapy is hardly successful for our target-group.

So what we are aiming at in this first phase of the intervention is an analysis of the client and his social environment that shows the direction in which development and activation is possible. It is a search for strong points, for potentialities which means empowerment.

Almost always there are a lot of practical problems to be solved right from the start, debts, no place to stay, no income and no medical aid where needed, are a few examples. This kind of problems are taken up as soon as possible. The worker does not solve these problems for the client, but in cooperation with the client. It is quite clear to us that cleaning up these practical problems is very much motivation the young people to work on further goals.

Part of analysis is the planning of three lines that are always followed in the second phase of the intervention:

- 1 guiding the youngsters back to school or to work or a combination of both;
- 2 working at a stable situation in the nuclear-family;
- 3 and filling the leisuretime in a positive way.

The last line very often includes reducing negative friendships and increasing the influence of positive friends.

In the first phase one of the important things is to look for positive relations in the personal network of the youngster, relationships that are experienced as positive by both the youngster and the other person involved. The latter we call VIP's. At the end of the second phase an agreement is made between client VIP and worker, about the ways in which the VIP can give support after the intervention has ended. VIP's can for instance be an uncle, a former teacher and just a neighbour. If it is really not possible to arrange enough support by informal persons, we make the same kind of agreement with professionals, mostly workers from organisations for judicial or regular child care.

At this point the intervention period comes to an end, when targets have been reached on the three objectives and the personnel network has been strengthened. After that the workers do follow their clients from a distance till about a year later.

Professional Network

At the start of the project, before we took on the first clients, we visited a lot of workers, from different organisations who could be important in the achievement of goals for our clients.

We invited altogether about 50 workers for a three day training in the method we use, together with our team. In this way we were able to build a network that is very useful. This network is maintained and built out while working.

The Team

We started with a team of ten intervention-workers. We tried to compose the team in such a way that it would reflect the client-population with regard to the country of origin.

Where there are over a hundred nationalities in our working area, that is of course not fully possible, but we succeeded in getting a percentual reflection of the main groups. So we have five workers from Moroccan origin, two from Surinam, two from Holland and one from Turkey. Three are women, seven men. We also tried to find workers who had experience of working with young people in common, but with different backgrounds in knowledge and experience.

We found general social workers, workers with experience in education, in employment, judicial child care, in neighbourhood youthwork and in police-work. The intention was to get an exchange of knowledge from which all the workers could profit. The exchange took place on cultural aspects as well as on aspects of knowledge and experience in different professional fields.

It is not so that the workers work only with clients from their own origin. Not only is this a practical impossibility, we also want to be a general organisation. If language difficulties create a problem, workers can be of help to each other.

This happens quite regularly because among the people from Morocco for instance, three different languages are spoken and especially the mothers do quite often speak nothing but their own language.

Most clients are contacted at the request of the police, officials controlling compulsory education, schools and organisations for child care.

More and more clients are coming on their own, mostly after they had information from we those we had worked with before.

At the start of the project especially among police-personnel there was a large amount of scepticism. One of the remarks we heard many times was that the police never hears anything about what is happening in judicial child care. That's why we try to inform all people who bring in clients regularly about the progress we are making. We find this a very effective investment. It is quite clear that most of the scepticism has gone.

6.9 Youth Work and Youth Welfare Services
Meet Drug
Counselling Services or: "The Frankfurt
Crack-Street-Project"

Peter Heemann
Youth Service Office, Frankfurt - "Walk Man"-
Streetwork

At the beginning of 1997, the Frankfurt police made the situation of crack-consuming people in downtown Frankfurt a topic of discussion during the so-called Friday meetings, where the Frankfurt police, drug counselling services and youth street work representatives coordinated their strategies. The drug counselling services had access to crack consumers only sporadically. "WALK MAN" (streetwork/main station initiated by the Frankfurt Youth Office) had been pointing out for several years that young people in particular were increasingly susceptible to crack consumption, since they rejected the intravenous use of drugs. Crack consumption frequently leads to excessive violence, which is due to the special way this drug works. Halfway through 1997, crack consumers repeatedly encroached on drug counselling centres. This topic was taken up and discussed by the "small round of agencies" who coordinate support for drug counselling facilities in the area of the Frankfurt main station.

The municipal narcotics department of Frankfurt, the Youth Office and the AIDS service worked together to develop a concept for a streetwork project in the crack scene. The idea was to establish three different modules: a drug counselling service (AIDS service, Frankfurt), youth welfare services (Walk-Man, Youth Office, Frankfurt) and medical treatment (Maltese relief service). The goal of the project was to evaluate the crack scene and to develop action programs that would give practical assistance. Two staff members from each of the respective institutions were to be involved. The drug counselling service gained experience with the "detached syringe exchange" and the "street junk project" that give assistance to heroin-dependent people from the viewpoint of health policy. The youth welfare services, on the other hand, address individuals and try to get them off drugs. Therefore, during first talks between the two types of service, two very different kinds of approach faced each other. For us employees of youth work, the health-care and medical approach of the drug counselling service was strange. It was difficult to transfer the drug-accepting approach to the needs of youth work. At the same time, colleagues from the drug counselling service had problems to understand the – sometimes high-

threshold – standards that youth welfare services wanted to apply in their work with drug-consuming young people. The fact that they concentrated entirely on getting young people off drugs led to irritations.

In the first phase of the project, we tried to get an overall view of the scene, emphasise certain aspects, and become acquainted with the habits of consumers and the places where they met. Simultaneously, we kept contact with clients we knew from our “WALK MAN” activities. They were mostly adolescents and young adults who consumed crack and who cleared the way, so to speak, to much larger user groups. In our work with crack-consuming adolescents, we experienced that youth welfare services provided no adequate help for these people.

Paragraph 42 of the KJHG (Child and Youth Services Act) requires drug consumers to be taken into residential care, but we could not even do that, because facilities for that purpose in Frankfurt excluded drug consumers. Lower-level facilities act on the same restrictive principle. Only the girls’ youth club Niefernburg offers tangible provision, at least in principle, with its adventure and outdoor pursuits. But for political reasons, only restricted use can be made of it. The intake-threshold of an alternative drug aid facility, the therapeutic “Eppenheim Centre”, was again too high for this type of client. Thus, we could not fall back on any drug counselling service at all. Nevertheless, we gained access mostly to clients who were still minors in the first phase of the project. To our own surprise, this did not happen because of social work efforts; rather, it was our physicians who were successful, because the dressing of wounds and medical counselling often triggered off further talks and considerations. This meant that our setting was surprisingly enlarged and new opportunities to take action opened up, because now, in the context of the project, we were able to hand out meal vouchers for the “Cafe Fix”, distribute medicine, rent hotel rooms and give support in ongoing court proceedings. For colleagues from the drug counselling service, the out-reaching and accompanying aspects of our work were unknown. We assumed functions and tasks for clients that traditional drug counselling services will never assume in this way because of their “learn-to-help-yourself” approach. Due to our low-threshold starting-point, we succeeded in gaining the trust of clients who, normally, are suspicious of adults working in official institutions. On the other hand, it was the clients themselves who failed us in our attempts to pass them on to official youth welfare services. They refused more extensive support. We were regarded as a kind of “service provider” and were expected to take care of specific basic needs. Meanwhile, we know that the young people only wanted to test us. They wanted to check out our intentions, how serious we were and what we expected, because the institutions of residential care had often taught them that good conduct was rewarded and breaking the rules was radically punished by banning young people involved from the institutions. They tested

us by “breaking rules”, e.g. they would not show up on time for appointments. It was precisely during these test phases that inter-disciplinary cooperation was a great advantage. Colleagues from the drug counselling centres brought our high expectations down to earth and urged us to be patient. In addition, medical care rapidly increased clients’ reliability. Moreover, interdisciplinary cooperation showed us the limits of social workers’ competence. Clients only accepted our explanations of how drugs worked and what their effects were when physicians confirmed these explanations. We learned how important the low-threshold approach was, relying as it did on health prophylaxis. The emergency aid we can offer aims primarily at harm reduction. It is only much later that we can give support in getting young people off drugs altogether. As employees of the youth welfare services, we are in a contradictory situation, because youth welfare services do not use a drug-accepting strategy, and the drug counselling service has no programmes for young people. Adolescents who consume drugs do not consider themselves to be drug-dependent and, at first, disassociate themselves from intravenous drug users. It is only after having smoked an excessive amount of crack and finding themselves in a desperate and hyper-agile condition that they try to “wind down” by applying a kind of self-medication with sleeping pills and heroin injections. After a while, almost all clients switched from crack to heroin. Then, for the first time, young people’s consumption of different drugs opens up a possibility of speaking to them about it, since now they feel dependent due to physical withdrawal symptoms.

But precisely young people’s consumption of different kinds of drugs forced us into a dilemma we could not resolve: being, on the one hand, employees of an interdisciplinary project strongly involved in drug-accepting work and, on the other hand, being an integral part of youth work, which does not approve of this kind of addiction acceptance (yet).

Although young people have an attested right to residential care, the central residential care unit in Frankfurt refuses to admit drug-consuming adolescents, arguing that staff could not assume responsibility for drug emergencies, had to protect non-drug-consuming adolescents, and was not qualified to deal with this particular group of clients. But in what respect does the training of colleagues from the drug counselling service differ from that of youth welfare services staff? Colleagues of the drug counselling service participating in the project and working in a crisis centre with overnight accommodation cannot understand (as we don’t either) this line of thought, because medical staff is available neither here nor there.

It follows from this way of doing things that young people who are more at risk than anyone else receive the least protection.

Another problem is that colleagues of the youth welfare services do not find our tolerance with young people’s drug consumption acceptable. They find

fault with our “not very pronounced educational standards” and claim that, with our lax attitude, we even encourage young people’s drug consumption.

The support given by youth work and youth welfare services leaves a great deal to be desired. The drug counselling service thinks we go too far with our demands which, nevertheless, we have maintained. Our understanding of helping young people is to eventually get them off drugs, and we want to motivate them to grasp opportunities to try out a life without hard drugs.

The crack project is the first interdisciplinary project in Frankfurt involving both drug counselling and youth welfare services; nevertheless, both disciplines have to move towards each other and away from their rigid dogmas, thus sharing a learning process and giving a difficult and unprovided for group of clients the help it needs. The cooperation raises a lot of legal problems; they can be solved, however, in the course of time; the goal of having access to one of the last unprovided for groups of young people should definitely be given top priority.

6.10 The "Chance" (De Kans) Project in the Hague

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Projekt De Kans (Chance) Den Haag

Start

The Chance Project started 1994 in Den Hague. It is geared to young people aged 12-25 who belong to the hard core of young offenders. They hold leading positions in groups and are reported about five times for committing crime. In addition, also hangers on who are at least once reported are rated to the target group and may voluntarily participate in the project. Participation is compulsory for the hard core, counselling being imposed by the Public Prosecutor or the judge. The Chance Project is intended for young people residing or hanging around in the The Hague district called Schilderswijk.

Young people who do not qualify are those with serious addiction-related trouble, psychiatric problems, no residence permit, who have committed serious violent crime, and without motivation.

Starting Points

The Chance Project is aimed at preventing young people from drifting into crime careers through channelling them into programmes of motivation, education, work experience, and leisure pursuits. Relapse is tried to prevent by promoting their integration and countering social disruption in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the Chance project develops a new working method to address the target group in an effective way, whereby various authorities and organisations are to cooperate.

Working Method

Services are contracted for the period of six months and are intensive and individually-based. This is also called ITB, individual programme counselling. The programme counsellor draws up care plan in partnership with the youth and starts from his need for an individual approach. The young person's needs and wishes are inventoried. Services are directed at education and/or em-

ployment and leisure time occupation. Of each client is established what s/he wants to have achieved at the end of the project and what is needed to realise this.

Results

Concrete steps to be taken and sanctions in case of non-observance are agreed upon. All is laid down in a contract. The programme counsellor keeps in touch with the youngster during the project period. Frequency, contents and the extent of control may vary by individual. It applies to all Hard Core Projects that interventions to clients with the most serious crime careers (former prisoners) are little likely to be successful. Clients in this category often leave the service immaturely. Early dropping out is always paralleled with recidivism. Those who complete the counselling programme are successful. Roughly half of them become recidivists. In the Chance Project 33 out of 58 young people have completed the programme.

6.11 Conclusions

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In overlooking the contents of this working group, one thing becomes very clear: All attempts to prevent or treat juvenile delinquency that stem from the empowerment philosophy are carried out in the very social and physical context that youth lives in. Typical strategies and working methods in empowerment projects are based on the fact that people live in a number of social and physical contexts that contribute to their problems, but also contain the solutions to their problems. The individual and his or hers daily living environment are intrinsically interconnected. In this view, separation of the individual from this environment may remove a number of causes for problematic functioning, but at the same time closes the road to an effective and lasting improvement of the quality of life for that individual.

Empowering strategies can be developed and implemented in various ways but must always be connected in a realistic manner to the possibilities of transformation. The application of this concept in several fields of social work leads to practical problems (Galuske 1998). For the field of criminal prevention one of the main empowering challenges can be found in the controversial question concerning the use of coercion. The question can be raised if the use of coercion is in contradiction with empowerment strategies. From a theoretical view empowerment seems to be the opposite of coercion/repression. A look in practical social work as presented in this conference reveals something different: on one side can be testified that empowering concepts with delinquent juveniles are connected with a special devotion and commitment to certain groups and individuals and the necessity to work with their personal and social networks of them, including nonconformistic or socially deviant groups. Empowerment means to perceive and tolerate subcultural norms and values by accepting and following the constructions of the reality of delinquent girls and boys. Through this access the view is opened to be able to see the single person including the daily hassles, the typical approaches of solution, but as well the fears and the needs. Indeed, looking at the German and Dutch empowering projects it can be concluded that practitioners are able to reach in a non-judicial way the girls and boys on a personal level. On the other side they all projects invariably have to use some coercional strategies to make the

processes of negotiation successful. A comparing analysis of German and Dutch shows that in all empowering projects boundaries do exist that can not be transgressed by the juveniles. These boundaries are known to as well the professionals as the juveniles. If they are violated the empowering projects react as well with repression through warnings or even with a call to the police.

The conclusion is that in empowering work is not the equivalent of a laissez-faire style of education. Empowerment goes therefore hand in hand with a professional standpoint of setting rules and using coercion with at the same time including the perspective of the delinquent in a respectful way. In the actual projects the understanding of empowerment is not in contradiction with coercion. Empowerment appears to be possible within a professional and responsible framework, as long as the professional respects the personal integrity of juvenile delinquents.

We think that this hypotheses should be proved through further research and critical evaluation. The aim should be to set the concept of empowerment free of idealistic hopes which can't be fulfilled to allow a realistic, professional and practical transformation of empowerment in the work with juvenile delinquents.

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7 Reports From Other European Countries

7.1 The European Perspective: Challenges to Youth Policies in the Forthcoming Years

René Bendit/Sima Nieborg

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A restriction to the state of the art and approaches towards youth criminality in only Germany and Holland would give a too narrow scope. It is therefore very useful to bring the German and Dutch programmes related to prevention/ intervention strategies, research interests and research programmes in a wider European perspective. Such widening of our perspective is not only important from the informative point of view, it also helps to contrast in a broader international frame the results of the German-Dutch trans-national comparative analysis on child and youth delinquency, prevention and intervention strategies.

In this part of the publication contributions from Austria, Russia, the United Kingdom and Spain throw a further light on the situation e.g. on existing problems, interesting approaches and research results of other European countries.

In her contribution Mrs. Heide Tebbich of the Austrian Institute for Youth Research stresses that although the development in juvenile criminal rate in Austria is not very different from other western European countries, there is not such an intensive public discussion about juvenile delinquency as for example in Germany or the Netherlands. Statistical data are taken as a reflection of reality and there is almost no investigation into the causes or background of the growth in criminal statistics. Another perspective would contribute to such an investigation: a perspective that is questioning the adults rather than young people.

In conceptualizing prevention measures at least two different developments can be identified. Firstly, there are concepts which are mainly based on scientific paradigms and dominated by an individualizing approach. On the other

hand there are concepts that are based on social paradigms which aim on strengthening the resources and competencies of young people.

Mrs. Gallina Kouprianova from the Federal Committee on Youth Affairs of the Russian Federation stresses on the situation of young people in Russia. Several social and economic factors affect strongly the living and education conditions of young people. The group of young people in hard life circumstances is increasing. Actual legislation of the Russian Federation aims to provide special conditions for the under-aged group imprisoned. This group is proving an increase and is faced by severe problems. Some improvements are to be made and some drafts for new Federal laws have been worked out now.

Mrs. Jackie Russell of the Birmingham City Council in the United Kingdom stresses two important themes with regard to young people. Firstly, there is a major commitment to get young people into the world of work, giving them an income and independence and subsequently the tools for self-determination. Secondly there has been a clear message from the Government that it intends to be tough on crime and get tough on the causes of crime. There seems to be a growing consensus however among policy makers and researchers in the value of applying a general programmatic to crime prevention which encourages the integration of crime prevention and reduction strategies. In other European countries, for example in the Netherlands, the policy is moving to this integration. The juvenile justice system in Britain is being significantly reshaped by recent legislation, marked by the following messages:

- Prevention is better than cure.
- There is a need to get tough on crime and get tough on the causes of crime.
- There is a need for agencies to work together.
- Attention is given also to community oriented work like the "Community Safety Project" or Corporate Youth Strategy and
- the prosecution of child and youth delinquency through new legal instruments like the Crime and Disorder Bill.

In his contribution Prof. Dr. Ferran Casas from the University of Gerona presents a research-project that , with the contribution of the European Commission, is going on in five European metropolitan areas: Barcelona, Madrid, Amsterdam, Genoa and Porto. In his paper, only data referring to Catalonian youth are being presented.

This psycho-social oriented research-project aims to identify relations between psychological, psychosocial and other personal variables and different risk behaviours in leisure time. Because of this aim the research-group is working with intentional samples including different subsamples of youngsters behaving risky. The risk behaviours taken into account are risk driving, drugs consuming, alcohol consuming, arms carrying, violent confrontation behav-

ious and sexual risky behavior. The relationship of these types of risk behaviours with some groups of psycho-social variables such as family cohesion, family-conflict and perceived social support from family is investigated. In his contribution Professor Casas presents some preliminary results.

All four presentations contribute, from their own perspective, to draw a more complete picture on the complex situation related of delinquency and prevention/intervention problems to be observed today in different European countries and regions. This broader view does not only allow a better European contextualization of the situation in Germany and The Netherlands but also indicates which main differences and similarities in relation to existing problems and coping strategies can be observed. Of course, broader and more detailed information will be needed to have a full overview on what is happening and what is to be done from the side of national and European youth policies in this field of child- and youth welfare.

7.2 Youth at risk – Juvenile Delinquency and Criminal Prevention in Austria

Heide Tebbich
Austrian Youth Research Institute, Vienna

Compared to Germany and the Netherlands the problem of juvenile delinquency has so far not been such an important topic in Austria, in spite of the fact that the statistics with regard to juvenile delinquency are not much different than those in other western countries. Is this lack of public discussion really a disadvantage? Maybe not.

That does not mean that juvenile delinquency is no topic at all. Especially after serious offences committed by young people, the amount of media coverage is usually significant. And very often criminal statistics are quoted then to prove that such cases might be an exception, but that things in general are going to become worse. At first glance these concerns seem to be justified. Between 1990 and 1995 juvenile delinquency measured by the number of offences committed by individuals between the age of 10 to 19 has risen from 20.400 up to 28.300 offences. That entails to an increase of 39 percent. In the same period the number of child suspects who appeared in the crime statistics rose about 150 percent. But unfortunately in public discussion these statistical data are taken as a reflection of reality and there is almost no investigation into the causes or background of the growth in criminal statistics amongst youth.

Asking about the causes and background does not necessarily have to mean asking "What is the matter with young people?", "What has changed in their living conditions?", or "What has changed in their behaviour?". You could also ask "What is the matter with the adults?", as does the Austrian Criminal-Sociologist Arno Pilgram. What he wants to say with this question is that an increase in youth and children who are reported to the police as supposedly criminal might have more to do with a change in the behaviour and the attitudes of adults, who make the report, than with the youths themselves.

And the crucial question is: why is it that in the 90ies so many adults are eager to report to the police juveniles and children who are not even criminally liable? To be able to understand Pilgrams argumentation, it is necessary to know that not reporting juvenile misbehaviour is the rule and reporting it is the exception. This assumes that the number of unreported cases of youth crime is quite high. If we assume a non reporting-rate of 90%, that would mean that a change in the reporting behaviour of only one ninth would double the rate of

crime among juveniles, without one additional person having committed a crime.

It would be outside the scope of this short statement, to discuss which developments in society might have caused a change in the reporting patterns of adults, what effect changes in the police staff or in the insurance-rate might have had on these statistics, not to mention alternative sanctions which were implemented. One reason, however, might lie in the model of the so-called "Aussergerichtlicher Tatausgleich" (compensation without trial), which is quite similar to the Dutch "HALT program" and which has been part of the Austrian juvenile criminal law for 10 years. Instead of a prison sentence, community service or compensation can be chosen as alternative sanctions. It might well be for example that the "Aussergerichtliche Tatausgleich" has an impact on the reporting-patterns of adults insofar as they might have fewer reservations about reporting young people to the police because the consequences wont be as serious as they had been before.

As a matter of fact, so far the growth in juvenile criminal statistics has not had very much impact on measures taken on the political level. And that might be the advantage of the fact that juvenile delinquency has not received so much attention. Because efforts based on a discussion about increasing rates of delinquency very often go along with demands for harder punishment and more control over young people and is often accompanied by rash actions, which are popular but not successful. That does not mean that there is no need for improvement in youth policy, youth-work or the juvenile justice system. But maybe this can be done better and more thoughtfully without evoking the permanent threat of growing juvenile misbehaviour.

Criminal Prevention

In Austria there is a wide range of criminal prevention measures. At the end of 1997 there was a national conference about prevention in general where tendencies in theory and practice in Austria were presented:

At present, at least two different developments in conceptualising prevention measures can be identified. On the one hand, there are concepts which are mainly based on scientific paradigms. They operate with multi-factorial causation models and are dominated by an individualising approach. They try to identify risk-groups with the aim of influencing individual behaviour. On the other hand, in the field of social education and social work there are concepts which are based on social scientific paradigms which aim at strengthening the resources and competencies of young persons rather than to identify risk-groups. Very carefully one could say that there is a tendency towards concepts which are based on empowerment, environment and community orientation,

and in the recent discussion the focus has shifted from “preventing” towards “developing”. This means for example that the aim is not only to prevent violence any more, but to develop better conflict solving skills. A consequence of the current development in concepts of prevention towards strengthening resources and abilities is that the borders between health-, violence-, drug- and criminal-prevention start to fade, respectively that there are efforts for interdisciplinary co-operation and networking.

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7.3 Child and Youth Delinquency in Russia: Teenagers in Hard Life Circumstances - Providing Rights for Under-aged Delinquents

Galina Kouprianova

Russian Federation State Committee on Youth Policy

300.000 criminal acts are committed annually in the Russian Federation by under-aged children. Of this number, those who have not reached the age of 16 and thus not amenable to law do 100.000. Some 700.000 teenagers are reported yearly for law abuses. Significant increase is noticed for premeditated murders, life attempts, property damages, drugs selling, stealing arms, weapons and explosives, and swindling. In 1998 there were 189.200 crimes reported with under-aged children involved, this is 3.6% more than in 1997. In the same period 1.126.000 juvenile delinquents had been detained. For the year past, the state authorities of Russia had applied preventive measures and activities to 734.000 teenagers as well as to 230.000 parents failing to perform their duties in upbringing their children in a proper way. For the dawn of 1999, responsible authorities are supervising 416.000 teenagers and 157.000 parents considered being an endangered group.

Apparently, different social and economic factors affect the situation of those. Some are of a greater concern.

50.600 juvenile delinquents not involved in any kind of social activities, neither working nor studying are reported for 1998. That is 11.7% more than in 1994. Last year, institutions responsible for internal affairs detained 3.700 under-aged delinquents that were officially unemployed. The responsible authorities report growing decrease of educational level for the supervised under-aged group. One third of the supervised group, for instance, had attended primary school only (128.000); another 2% (8.600) did never get to school.

Different kind of social problems such as alcoholism, unemployment and family problems result in growing children neglect. The number of parents supervised by the responsible authorities has notably grown from 93.000 in 1994 to 156.900 in 1998.

In the mean time, the structures of interior affairs report 15.000 teenagers to be drug addicts. That is 3.7 times more than in 1994. For the five past years, the number of children officially proved to be drug addicts had grown three times. Specialized medical aid and outpatient treatment for this group of chil-

dren are provided in big regional cities only, as regional departments of internal affairs report.

There are 5-10 beds available in regional specialized hospitals for the under-aged drug addicts. Lack of medical aid and specialized hospital facilities results in further extension of under-aged drugtaking across the Russian Federation.

Acting legislation of the Russian Federation is to provide special conditions for the under-aged group imprisoned. This is to prevent them from malice influence of adult prisoners and promote their participation in education programmes. By November 1998 there were 20.202 prisoners kept in 63 under-aged close custodies. This includes 1.225 in three women under-aged institutions and 480 men in four close custodies under strict control. All medical regulations meet the requirements administered. There are 10.500 specialists in staff to work with children including instructors for upbringing, secondary school teachers, instructors of crafts, medics and psychologists, supervisors, librarians etc. Last year the entire group of under-aged prisoners was provided with secondary school education. Ninety percent of under-aged close custodies have craft school program set up for the teenagers kept.

The rest does a preparatory program. For the period of 1997 as many as 13225 under-ages were taught crafts and profession. Out of this number 2025 students had passed practice in factories. There are 197 teachers, 483 crafts and professions instructors and 46 engineers involved in the program.

In spite of numerous problems with setting up production, in 83 percent of the under-aged close custodies crafts factories managed to survive. 25.8 percent even succeeded in opening craft schools. The rest depends on unstable demand for the goods that they produce. Another 25 percent of convicts are not involved in any kind of work or in a study program.

Nowadays the executive system of Russian Federation including under-aged close custodies is subject to changes in order to meet the requirements of international standards. An example of that is the four levels scale of conditions provided for prisoners designed to tangibly react to their behaviour. Therefore in 1998 the prisoners were kept in different conditions as follows. 56.4 percent were administered regular conditions, 33.1 percent were kept in favorable conditions, 9.1 percent were given certain privileges, and, finally, 1.4 percent were administered to severe conditions. In addition to the possibility to be granted with better conditions, the under-aged close custodies encourage their convicts with exceptional measures not applied in to adult institutions. In 1998, for instance, 404 prisoners groups had opportunity to visit culture and sport activities taking place in outside of the colony. 1157 convicts had been allowed to leave the colony for a while been accompanied by their parents or close relatives.

As a rule the convicts that reached the age of 18 stay in colony until they are 21. In most of cases they are set free before the administered time is expired. Therefore, as in 1997 out of 64.4 percent of convicts who left colony, 34 percent did the time administered. Convicts kept in under-aged close custodies represent the most socially dangerous group. As for statistics, only one fourth of the convicted under-ages are sent to do time in colony. 55.1 percent convicted for theft, 14 percent sued for robbery. Starting from 1993 significant increase has to be noticed for murder convicts, which is 3.2 percent.

According to the Crime code of the Russian Federation, anyone who reached the age of 16 is amenable to law. Although for some crimes, the age administered is 14. At the mean time, the age of convicts kept in under-aged close custodies varies as follows:

- 14-16: 15.5%
- 16-18: 66.7%
- above 18: 17.8%

The time to do applied to under-aged convicts does not exceed 10 years and varies as below:

- 2 years: 11.8%
- 2 to 3 years: 36.2%
- 3 to 5 years: 40.5%
- 5 and/or more: 11.5%

Before committing the crime 35% of the convicts attended secondary school or other educational institution, 8.2% were employed and 56.8% had neither been working nor studying..

Ten percent of the teenagers kept in under-aged colony either are orphans or rejected to be cared by their parents. Furthermore, this group shows a significant increase from 5.4% in 1993 to 9.6% in 1998. Every third is diagnosed to be psychically unhealthy. The percent of tubercular patients had grown 6 times since 1992. That is why the group of under-aged convicts seems to be not only most socially dangerous but also socially undefended and unhealthy.

Among the problems faced by the under-aged close custodies, some are of a great concern:

- 1 Under-aged colony is a conglomeration lacking specialists of different profile able to provide full functionality of public and municipal utilities, personnel department, accounting department, laundry, store, garage, warehouse etc.

- 2 The equipment of under-aged close custodies is wearied out, as it had not been renewed for decades. Therefore, these are 10 under-aged institutions only to meet the requirements assigned.
- 3 Economy crisis had strongly affected the production process in under-aged close custodies. As there is no more demand for the production formulated by state nor the production market, some factories and craftsmanship are having hard time to survive.
- 4 There is lack of social adaptation for the convicts. After been released from colony, they mostly often do not have chance to be integrated by the society so they soon find themselves in a criminal social environment.
- 5 The under-aged close custodies personnel runs out of financial resources to feed children as well as to provide them with cloths, textbooks, medicines etc. It is becoming harder to find job opportunities for the released.

Under the conception of restructuring of the executive system, some changes are to be made until 2005. These are the enlargement of existing institutions, involving qualified personnel to work with under-aged convicts. In addition to that, public utilities are to be developed to meet international requirements for the sanitary and hygiene conditions.

In 1998, the Russian Federation State Committee on Youth Affairs, the Committee on Women, Family and Youth affairs of the State Duma together with some other state authorities involved, had been working on draft Federal laws entitled, – ‘State Preventive Measures for Neglect and Juvenile Delinquents’ and, ‘Commission on Protecting Under-Aged Kid’s Rights’.

The Russian Federation State Committee on Youth Affairs, responsible authorities and ministries worked out the conception of state preventive measures for neglect and Juvenile delinquents designed to define key problems, the role of all state structures in preventing law abuses committed by the under-aged, and finally formulate the leading approaches. The Russian Federation State Committee on Youth Affairs assumes it to be a task of highest priority to provide rights and freedoms for all the youth of Russia. There should be Juvenile Justice developed on the legislative level. The justice for the teenagers who found themselves in hard life circumstances is going to be different from existing practices by including in itself Law Developing and Law Exercise.

7.4 Citizenship, Responsibility, Empowerment

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The Deficit in Civil Society

The current debate on crime often runs along side a discussion on the erosion of values within society and this is referred to by Knight and Stokes as the 'deficit in civil society'. Civil society provides the physical, political and social embodiment of order, security and stability through rules, privileges, customs, public buildings, markets, charitable bodies, hospitals, educational institutions. Two examples of the perceived decline in civil society, which are particularly relevant to the issue of crime, committed by young people in particular, are concerns over civic order and civic education. Civic order used to imply a relatively stable, coherent set of relationships between the family, community, and other institutions of society; Civic order in this sense is collapsing, and our lives are characterised by insecurity, unpredictability, chaos, risk and powerlessness. Civic education is the continuing educational process whereby an individual learns duties, freedoms and interests shared with others; here, society transmits ethical values and allows the individual to take action as a moral being. A strong civil society is seen as the answer to many of our problems of crime, disorder and social fragmentation. In recent years, we have seen a number of initiatives of all political parties calling for a renewed sense of community, active citizenship, a return to basic values, and measures designed to encourage voluntarism and other forms of community service that will stimulate higher levels of civic engagement.

There are a number of modern influences which some believe are causal factors in the recent decline of civil society, and which are possibly worth a mention here. The attraction and prevalence of television and consumer electronics has revolutionised family life and brings great opportunities for learning, but conversely is seen by some as 'the principal assassin of public life and community politics'. There is an argument that suggests that in a previous era women held together the threads of family, neighbourhood and community life. The changing role of women and the changing shape of the family has resulted in energies being diverted away from holding family and community together. There are powerful marketing messages encouraging us to pursue

more exotic interests than community activity; it is arguably in this ability to pursue certain leisure time occupation that economic differences are more sharply delineated. Crime has become a feature of disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods; where the level of anti-social behaviour is high, people's willingness to engage in communal activity is further damaged; they prefer to stay home not to risk burglary or street robbery, creating 'gilded ghettos' among those who have anything worth stealing.

The National Context

The primary aim of youth justice policy should be to reduce the level of youth crime, but a fundamental switch in emphasis is needed – away from the criminal justice system, into prevention. If we create the right environment for young people, most of them will not be interested in following a criminal career. Measures which focus on parenting, schools and tackling disaffection are likely to help the youths to develop more responsible attitudes and to stop offending, as well as making them less likely to offend in the first place. In Britain, there is evidence of movement on both fronts. There has been extensive change signalled in the legislative context and the Government is committed to making crime prevention a statutory duty; while at the same time there has been commitment to social inclusion the Welfare, Work and Lifelong Learning programmes.

The national policy direction on youth offending is part of the national policy direction for all young people, and much of New Labour's rhetoric recently has been that learning is for everyone and they want an inclusive society where education and training are accessible.

Patricia Hewitt MP, speaking on National Youth Policy suggests that the two values that sum up New Labour are opportunity and responsibility, grounding in a philosophy that individuals do better in a strong community based on an understanding that we are all connected, that we owe each other responsibility and rights. For young people especially, the responsibility of the Government is to create opportunities to learn and to earn.

(1) New Start is a strategy that was introduced in England from September 1997 with the aim of increasing participation and motivation levels of young people in learning. The key characteristics of the strategy are strategic response to low participation/achievement rather than a discrete programme; main focus on 14-17 year-olds outside of learning or at risk of leaving early; national strategy (encouraging networking, extending good practice), support of £10 million over three years, firmly based partnerships involving all relevant sectors in a multi agency approach. Nationally there are 17 pilots funded by

the DfEE and a large number of supported projects – e.g. Birmingham. Birmingham City Council also has an initiative with European partners with features similar to New Start: Youthstart 2000. To capture the interest of young people, they use information and communications technology. The European partners are Germany (Moers), Ireland (Nenagh), and the project includes community mentoring, telematics, an accredited pre-vocational curriculum, accredited initial training for mentors, staff development activities, and an action research approach to evaluation.

(2) New Deal: Labour's 'Welfare to Work' programme marks a fundamental attack on youth unemployment. The New Deal provides four options for the 250,000 youths aged 18 -24 who have been out of work for more than six months. It is currently being piloted, but will be introduced nationally from 1 April 1998. The programme begins with the Gateway, an intensive period of up to 16 weeks of counselling, advice and guidance. During this period, each young person is assigned an employment service advisor and opportunities of independent careers guidance. There is also access to basic skills and personal development programmes, especially for vulnerable or disadvantaged individuals and groups.

Following completion of the Gateway, the young person has to follow one of four options: a job with an employer (employers are paid £60 for 26 weeks), a job for 6 months with a voluntary sector employer, plus small allowance, a job for 6 months with the environmental task force, full time education/training on an approved course leading to a qualification – for those without qualifications. Refusal to take any of these options will result in a heavy benefit penalty perhaps as much as 60% of benefit, and the dole is no longer an option.

The unemployment rate for 18-24 year-olds in Birmingham at April 1997 was 15.1%. The figure is higher than the Birmingham unemployment rate, and more significantly is concentrated in 9 inner city wards – where a large proportion of Birmingham's ethnic minority population live – 35% of young men in the inner wards are unemployed, and of these 23.4 % are from minority ethnic groups. A wide range of special needs have been identified: Clients with literacy problems, non-native speakers, homeless, clients who have been in local authority care, suffering from debt problems, or with drug and alcohol related problems. It is estimated that in the year April 1998 – March 1999 approximately 10,000 young people will enter the Gateway in Birmingham.

(3) The Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy: The Government set up a new advisory group on education for citizenship, to give advice on how schools can best help students understand the nature of democracy, the duties, rights and responsibilities of citizens. This will build on the draft guidance on spiritual, moral, social and cultural development

in schools. The group's interim report (March 1998), recommends the introduction of a statutory requirement on schools to ensure citizenship education for all pupils. Citizenship, it concludes, is made up of three elements: social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy¹.

(4) The Direction of Youth Work: Youth work contributes to the promotion of self esteem, to giving the young person a sense of greater control over their own lives, to developing their sense of responsibility within a wider society, and a consequential mentality (if 1 do that then that will follow). Youth work aims at reducing crime by countering offending related characteristics (e.g. boredom) and by developing personal and social skills among young people. Street work has a particular role in reaching out to young people at risk. Most projects focus on personal and social development and subsume the aim of crime prevention within this more positive framework. The core themes of Youth Work are: mentoring, information, citizenship, responsibility, opportunities (to earn, to learn, to play).

There is a clear policy direction within the City Council which is driving departments to work together to respond to the needs and aspirations of young people in a holistic manner, with inclusion under-pinning the agenda. This is embodied in the Corporate Youth Strategy and is a useful working example illustrating the direction of youth policy and services for young people in Britain.

The Nature of Youth Offending in Britain

In the last few years we have seen growing public and political concern about the extent and nature of the problem of young offenders. They are costly to the nation: Crime committed by 10-20 year-olds costs the country around £5.5 billion a year if we include the loss, harm and damage caused by the crime itself and the resources which go towards responding to it. There has been a growing dissatisfaction with the way youth crime is dealt with. Social work interventions with very difficult youths have been derided in the media and there is a general view that treatment is often unduly lenient and that sometimes criminal behaviour is even rewarded. Crime costs victims – businesses or individuals, many of them young people; it creates a climate of fear with an impact upon social life; it also costs the perpetrators of crime, many of them young people.

In recent years youth crime has fallen dramatically in terms of convictions. The majority of youth crimes are minor offences. Most young offenders simply

¹ There will be a final report to the Education Secretary in July.

grow out of offending – only a small number are persistent – with about 3% of offenders responsible for 25% of offences. However, crime does play an important part in young people's lives for the following reasons: They are routinely regarded as the cause of it. Most will know someone involved in crime. Many will have been its victims. All will make choices about their own involvement. All should, as part of their education, have an opportunity to explore the reasons and principles behind the criminal justice system and its workings. A disproportionate number of crimes are still committed by young people of 10-17 years, especially by a small number of persistent offenders. Many young offenders are thought to be excluded from official records, either because they are never apprehended or because the police make use of informal, unrecorded warnings. However, according to criminal statistics, two fifths (43%) of indictable crime (i.e. which can be dealt with in the Crown Court, whether or not it is) appears to be committed by people aged under 21, with 26% of known offenders under 18. The commonest offence known to be committed by young offenders are theft and handling stolen goods. The peak age of known offending in 1995 was 18 for males and 15 for females. There are many more male than female offenders. Overall, the number of male juvenile offenders has fallen by 41% over the last decade – from 172,700 in 1985 to 101,700 in 1995. The number of female juvenile offenders has fallen by 24% – from 40,700 in 1985 to 31,100 in 1995. The overall juvenile offending rate per 100,000 population in 1995 was 4,000 for males and 1,300 for females.

If you torture statistics for long enough, they will tell you anything. David Farrington, in his report 'Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime' attributes the decrease in recorded juvenile offending over the past decade to statutory and procedural changes, and concludes, it seems likely that the true prevalence of juvenile offending has actually increased in the last decade.

The Audit Commission report 'Misspent Youth: Young People and Crime' (1996) provided some clear signposts and, in particular, highlighted that:

- 26% of known offenders are under 18;
- youth crime costs public services £1 billion;
- there is a correlation between school exclusions and crime;
- 97% of youth crime is not brought before the courts;
- prevention is better than cure;
- agencies should work together, with local authorities leading.

The report makes a number of proposals to speed up the youth justice system and make it more effective and suggests offending by young people could be greatly reduced by a focus on supporting parents, education for the under 5's, help for teachers, and positive leisure activities. In response to this, the Home Secretary established a Youth Justice Task Force and there has been an extensive consultation on proposals for change in juvenile justice.

Approaches to the Prevention of Crime

There are three main approaches to crime prevention in the UK: criminal justice process, situational measures, and criminality prevention:

- 1 The criminal justice process involves police, courts, prison, probation. It aims to deter, detect and treat, and there must be a good chance of being caught, punished and rehabilitated. Evidence suggests, although this system is clearly important, the risk of being caught and punished is very low – nonetheless, there is a victim. Improvement is needed, but it is now recognised that the criminal justice system is unlikely to be a solution on its own. There has recently been a move towards reparation and mediation schemes allowing youths to know the hurt they have caused, accept responsibility and, where possible, repair it. Punishment alone cannot achieve this. The reparative approach starts from the premise that an offence is an act against another person or the community. A problem solving approach is used with the offenders, their family and lawyer, perhaps a friend, being brought together with the victim. It is a powerful tool in enabling young offenders to see the consequences of their deeds, and take responsibility through an apology, community service, or some form of compensation. Through this use of face to face negotiation there is evidence that their offending rate is half that of young offenders who have graduated from the normal criminal justice system².
- 2 Situational Measures: A focus on situations where crime might occur and the use of technology, people, design, and management to deter or detect by making crime more difficult, increasing the risks of being detected, and reducing the rewards. Next, the need to involve all of those who influence the physical, economic, and management environments. Young people are often left out of this process, yet they see three times more crime committed than do adults. Situational measures are effective in tackling specific problems at specific locations i. e. the symptoms and not the causes.
- 3 Criminality Prevention: The aim is to influence behaviour and attitude of those most at risk of offending, and therefore starts from an analysis of the factors which are considered to predict offending. The Audit Commission

² The first boot camp in Britain was set up in Colchester early in 1997 and closed at the end of March 1998. Official research concluded that this provision is not more effective than other Young Offender Institutions, and at £31,000 a year for every place (around twice the cost of Young Offender Institutions) they did not represent value for money.

Report argues, while public services clearly need to deal with offending behaviour by young people, it would be better to prevent it in the first place. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the risk factors which can significantly predict offending and anti-social behaviour, and which have practical implications for prevention. The most significant of these risk factors include gender (boys are more likely to offend than girls), behavioural traits (aggression and hyperactivity in early childhood, impulsivity; discipline, attitude, drug and alcohol abuse³), experience in schools and community (intelligence and attainment, truancy and exclusion, situational influences, e.g. the opportunity to commit crime, the influences of peers, lack of training and employment⁴), and home conditions (socio-economic deprivation, parental supervision inadequate parenting; unstable living conditions⁵).

Developmental prevention focuses on interventions designed to inhibit the development of criminal potential in individuals. This is where much of the work in the UK focuses: Early years intervention (parental support, high quality pre-school education) , school based prevention targeted at risk behaviours (disaffection, disruption, exclusion, truancy, low self esteem, school failure), with the aim of raising motivation, achievement and self esteem of those most at risk (during any one school day, 100,000 children who should be in school are not, 11,000 of them are permanently excluded. Programmes include reintegration of truants, peer led education, praise culture), community based prevention (risk factors include prolonged unsupervised free time, delinquent peers, blocked opportunities to training, employment, housing, dysfunctional communities, poor physical environment). The aim is to change the social conditions and institutions that influence offending in communities through improved leisure provision, availability of services, employment prospects, and access to housing. Programmes include literacy and numeracy, work skills courses, work experience, job creation, life skills courses, advice services, job search, mentoring.

There is a growing consensus among policy makers and researchers in the value of applying a general programmatic method to crime prevention, which encourages individual prevention strategies to be implemented as elements of a larger programme. In the UK this is being developed from the existing community safety programmes and there are examples where communities are

³ 70% of those on supervision orders admit to taking drugs and over half get drunk at least once a week

⁴ 60% of young offenders on supervision orders have little to do, as they are not engaged in work, training or education

⁵ – few young people not living with a parent attend school or college, while 72% living with parents do. Foyers have had some success in reaching young people who are homeless and unemployed

being helped to identify their own communal anti-crime needs and organise to tackle them. In particular, there is a role for young people in taking some responsibility for making their communities safer places to live, and through their involvement addressing some of the pre-conditions in the lives of potential young offenders.

The National Juvenile Justice System

Youth crime is seen as one of the most serious problems facing England and Wales today, because it is viewed as the key to building safer communities. The present government have promised a major reform of the youth justice system.

After 18 years of government, the Conservatives have been replaced by New Labour. The two political parties had differing philosophies in criminal justice terms, which translated approximately into socialist welfare and conservative justice approaches. Welfare involved assessing the needs of the individual offender and devising treatment to meet them, resulting in rehabilitation. If possible, this would be achieved through informal means, without recourse to the criminal justice system. The justice approach involved a criminal law framework of rights, procedures, measures, predictable and consistent punishment, protecting the individual from the arbitrary power of the state and allocating just deserts to the convicted. The welfare approach can be illustrated by the Children and Young Person's Act 1969, which reflected the 1960's consensus that the causes of juvenile delinquency lay in family problems and social deprivation. The solution was continuing treatment, advice, information, and assistance aimed at both the youth and his family, until the problem was solved. Juvenile justice would be largely decriminalised for under 14's and restricted for the under 16's with increased use of civil care proceedings. Most of the Act was not implemented owing to a change of government. The criminal justice system, designed to allocate responsibility and punishment, has long been uncertain about the place of the child's welfare – and with the failure to enact the decriminalisation provisions of the Act, welfare became largely meaningless. The remaining provisions drew large numbers of juveniles into the criminal justice system.

The 1980's was a time of enlightenment in the practice of juvenile justice. Whilst politicians still proclaimed the benefits of the 'short, sharp, shock' and 'swift and certain punishment', the Criminal Justice Act (1982) placed restrictions on the power of courts to lock youths away. A consensus emerged children should be diverted from the criminal justice system by cautions and informal measures.

The 1990's saw another change of direction. The criminal justice system became driven by retribution and deterrence. In 1992 the country was shocked and horrified by the murder of a two year old child by two ten year old boys. The media widened the focus on the dreadful behaviour of some juveniles, causing moral panic which evoked political rhetoric on being tough on crime. Within this era, the Home Office Guidelines on cautioning changed (so that most juveniles would have only one chance before being prosecuted; the presumption in favour of not prosecuting juveniles from the Public Interest Considerations in the Guidelines was omitted, and youth as a category of vulnerable offenders in the Code for Crown Prosecutors were omitted). Provisions in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 included: abolishing the right of silence of a juvenile questioned or charged, increasing the maximum sentence for young offenders from 12 to 24 months, extending the special sentencing provisions for serious offences to 10-13 year-olds, establishing secure training units for non serious but persistent offenders aged 12-14, and the naming and shaming of young convicted offenders by removing their anonymity.

Recent developments may indicate that the zenith of retribution against juvenile offenders has been reached and dissatisfaction with the treatment of juvenile offenders and there is a growing realisation that the childhood of young offenders has been ignored. However, New Labour rhetoric about being tough on crime and its causes and the Crime and Disorder Bill conversely indicate that the present direction will continue.

A detailed examination of the deficiencies of the current youth justice system was published by the Labour Party in May 1996 in a document entitled 'Tackling Youth Crime, Reforming Youth Justice'. In November 1996 the Audit Commission published 'Misspent Youth', also pointing to failings in current arrangements, indicating a lack of clear focus on tackling youth crime at national and local levels.⁶ The Government pledged to implement a comprehensive and wide ranging reform programme to get the youth justice system in England and Wales working as it should. The first three instalments of the Government's detailed plans were revealed in the consultation papers 'Tackling Youth Crime', 'New National and Local Focus on Youth Crime' and 'Tackling Delays in the Youth Justice System' (1997). The legislative proposals set out in these papers will be implemented through the 'Crime and Disorder Bill'. The three papers should help put youth justice services on a more consistent footing and extend constructive programmes of diversion, reparation, supervi-

⁶ The Audit Commission concluded that: "The current system for dealing with youth crime is inefficient and expensive, while little is done to deal effectively with juvenile nuisance. The present arrangements are failing the young people who are not being guided away from offending to constructive activities. They are also failing victims. And they lead to waste in a variety of forms, including lost time, as public servants process the same young offenders through the courts time and again."

sion and bail support. Regrettably, they also include measures which could move the youth justice system in a more harsh direction.

The main proposals contained within 'Tackling Youth Crime' relating to youths from the age of 10-17 are: a new system of police reprimands and final warnings instead of repeat cautions, restriction of conditional discharge for the younger age group (by barring its use for any young offender who had committed an offence within two years of having received a final warning), abolition of the 'doli incapax' presumption (children aged 10-14 do not know the difference between right and wrong and are therefore incapable of committing a crime – their childhood does not get recognised until the sentencing stage), a new pattern of community orders to be available to the courts, parenting orders (compulsory courses to help parents control the criminal behaviour of their children including truancy), reparation orders (apology to the victim, clearing up graffiti, repairing damage etc.), action plan orders (individually tailored, these could combine reparation with ensuring school attendance or staying away from certain places)⁷, child safety orders (curfews for the under 10's at risk of offending or requirement to avoid a specific area), local child curfews (blanket ban on children under 10 to stop gangs of unsupervised children gathering in public places late at night).

'New National and Local Focus on Youth Crime' sets out the governments proposals for reforming the national and local structures for delivering work with young offenders. The report argues that there is a sense of urgency needed at local level to turn young offenders away from crime, and this would usually mean changing several aspects of their lives. It requires the involvement of a range of agencies which will include local authorities (social services, education, youth service) the probation service, the police and health authorities.

The main proposals contained within the consultation paper are: the creation of a new Youth Justice Board for England and Wales (to provide a clear national focus for youth justice issues and a coherent framework of mentoring and standards for the work of local agencies); the local authority Chief Executive should convene and chair a group at chief officer level comprising the authority's social services and education departments, the probation service, the police and the local health authority. The local authority would be placed under a duty, in consultation with other agencies, to draw up a strategic plan for youth justice work in the area, covering both the establishment and operation of Youth Offender Teams and the provision of local youth justice services.

⁷ The three month action plan order would provide a short, but intensive programme of work with the young offender and his or her parents to tackle the causes of offending. Intensive but constructive supervision programmes offer the best hope of steering many young offenders away from crime.

To place local authorities across England and Wales under a statutory duty to provide youth justice services and to establish inter-agency Youth Offender Teams to bring together in partnership all local agencies in delivering community based intervention with, and supervision of, young offenders. The Youth Offender Teams will be charged with securing a real change in attitude and behaviour by youth offenders and ensuring proper control and punishment for persisting offending. Proposals for how Youth Offender Teams will work are set out in consultation papers. The first Youth Offender Teams are due to be piloted in October 1998 and are due to set up across England and Wales between April 1999 and March 2000. The first task is to identify the number of offenders aged 10-17 in the area. The chief officers group will appoint or designate a Youth Offender Team Manager, accountable to the Chief Executive and reporting to the Chief Officers Group on performance against the plan.

The third consultation paper 'Tackling Delays in the Youth Justice System' has been prepared in response to one of the Government's election pledges – to halve the time from arrest to sentence for persistent young offenders. It currently takes an average of 4.5 months for a young offender to be sentenced – it could take a year or more. During this time, the youth is all too often continuing to offend. The main proposals contained in the paper are to speed up proceedings in the Youth Court and to set statutory time limits, to introduce fast tracking schemes for persistent and spree offenders, to increase control of young people awaiting trial by providing effective bail support and supervision, to ensure that courts have available to them powers to make effective use of secure accommodation for remanded children and young people, which will end the remanding of 15 and 16 year old boys to prison service accommodation. In addition the government is conducting an urgent review of secure facilities for young offenders and the associated system of court orders.

The White Paper published in advance of the Crime and Disorder Bill – 'No more excuses: A new approach to tackling youth crime in England and Wales' unveiled further proposals: Under detention and training orders the custodial period could be varied as an incentive to an offender to improve her/his behaviour. A new hybrid sentence (half custody, half community supervision) is proposed (from 4 mths. to 2 yrs.). Up to 200 people aged 12-14 could be detained in secure training units at any one time. For the first time, 12-14 year-olds awaiting trial and more vulnerable 15-16 year-olds could be remanded to secure local authority accommodation. First time young offenders could be brought before a youth panel. The culprits would be confronted with the consequences of their crime and the young person and the parents would have to draw up a good behaviour contract to last up to a year.

The Crime and Disorder Bill had its second reading in April 1998, and is expected to be granted Royal Assent by the end of July 1998, and then ratified on the statute book. There is a degree of disagreement among professions

and writers with regard to how they perceive the Bill. Some would argue that prevention is at the centre of the Bill after four years of legislation dominated by harsher sentencing measures and that this is evident in the statutory duty for local authorities to provide youth justice services and establish multi-agency youth offender teams. Others argue, the emphasis is primarily on restraint and punishment with very little support or guidance required under law to young offenders. The Crime and Disorder Act will cost £120 million a year to implement, and most provisions are expected to come into effect by April 1999. The Bill before Parliament has five parts: Part 1 – Prevention of Crime and Disorder (includes statutory duty, anti-social behaviour orders, sex offender orders, child safety orders, parenting orders, child curfew schemes), part 2 – Criminal Law (includes presumption of doli incapax), part 3 – Criminal Justice System (includes youth justice system, youth offender teams, Youth Justice Board), part 4 – Dealing with offenders (includes youth reprimands and warnings, reparation orders, action plan orders, detention and training orders), part 5 – Miscellaneous and supplemental.

A number of concerns have emerged from the consultation process and professional debate which include:

- The Local Authority can apply for an anti-social behaviour order for anyone aged 10 or over who has acted in an anti-social manner, and is likely to do so again. The order can be in effect for a minimum of two years, a breach can result in fine or imprisonment. These penalties are not balanced with a legal requirement to provide support to juveniles, nor is guidance or counselling required to help remedy negative behaviour. The courts can issue a parenting order requiring the parent or guardian to prevent the repetition of an offence. It can be in force up to a year and may require the parent or guardian to attend counselling. Experience shows that parenting courses provided on a voluntary basis work well, however, the order is less likely to work well with unco-operative parents and returning them to court and fining them for not co-operating is unlikely to reduce the child's offending. The punishment of a parent for a child's refusal to obey a control requirement could result in children being more at risk than ever, increasing tension between parents and their children which could, in turn lead to requests from parents for the Local Authority to accommodate their children. The proposal has also been criticised for the disproportionate effect that it will have on poor and lone parents.
- A child safety order is intended to give attention to children under 10 at risk of offending when they are older. The child is placed under the supervision of a responsible officer for up to 3 months, receiving appropriate support, care and protection and being subject to 'proper control' to prevent a repetition of the behaviour that led to the child being 'noticed' by the authorities.

It has been suggested that the extra care and support for these children is quite useful if they are not branded as criminals and excluded from society, but the involvement of social services is unlikely to be welcome.

- Local authorities can introduce a local child curfew scheme with the aim to ensure vulnerable youths are not exposed to dangers or tempted to become involved in crime, such as drug abuse, vandalism, disturbance and minor violence. This has been criticised as sweeping and affecting all children regardless, and because it will be difficult to enforce.
- There is concern about the effect of lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and the effect of increasing the use of secure accommodation, on criminalising the very young.
- Abolition of the 'doli incapax' presumption removes a brake which required the system to stop and think about the degree of responsibility of each particular child.
- The new Government has expressed strong support for diversionary work with first time offenders and their families. There has been a welcome modification of earlier plans to replace cautioning with a single final warning. The Government now proposes a two-stage system of police reprimands and final warnings.
- There will be a new reparation order under which offenders aged ten upwards could be ordered to make reparation to their victim or perform community work. Experience with cautioning juveniles shows that requiring young offenders to apologise can have a salutary effect and many victims appreciate it. However, the failure rate of community service orders for 16/17 year-olds is considerably higher than for adults and could be even higher for younger offenders.
- Home Office ministers have stated, they favour lowering the age at which young offenders can be named from 18 to 16 as part of a campaign to 'name and shame' serious or persistent young offenders. The plan requires legislation and it is not clear whether the Government will amend the Crime and Disorder Bill currently going through Parliament.
- Some of the measures in the Bill have been rejected as counterproductive, and others in possible breach of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Birmingham City Council - The Corporate Youth Strategy

In April 1998 the Corporate Youth Strategy was approved by Committee, following a preparation period of two years. In March 1996 it was agreed that a strategy was needed to respond to young people's understanding of their social conditions and aspirations – this strategy should empower young people to become more active citizens. In order to achieve it was further recognised necessary to map out interdepartmental linkages to ensure that the strategy was indeed corporate. The first step towards developing the corporate youth strategy was a series of consultation meetings held throughout the city in 1996 informed by the main concerns coming through from young people. The strategy sets out the range of work with young people by different council departments, and the targets for work in 1998/99. The headline targets for 1998/99 (involving all Departments of the City Council) are as follows:

- developing models for involving young people further in the decision making of the Council, including 'Local Involvement Local Action';
- implementing the 'New Deal for Young People' with the Joint Venture Partners and ensuring the best possible progression routes to employment through the Council's 'Pathways to Employment';
- offering a range of opportunities to assist improvement for underachieving young people;
- supporting the development of foyers in Birmingham to assist young people needing sustainable accommodation. Planning events for the Millennium to celebrate young people's achievements;
- reviewing the Youth Justice services to meet the requirements of the Crime and Disorder Bill.

Substantial work is needed to establish baseline measures and further indices of social exclusion amongst young people. The City Council needs to build a greater understanding and more accurate analysis of the trends affecting young people, the 'routes of experience' that result in social exclusion, and the barriers to their social inclusion. The following principles will guide the City Council's approach to provision for young people:

- consult youths in planning, involve them in decision making wherever possible;
- young people can and do contribute to the life of the City and their own communities and to finding solutions to problems that face us as citizens of Birmingham – they should be further encouraged to do so;

- assist youths to develop their understanding of active citizenship and the democratic process; value the skills, insights and contribution of youths whether in waged employment or not; provide clear and impartial information to assist them to make decisions;
- develop responses to young people's needs in partnership with the voluntary sector, other public agencies and the private sector;
- ensure there is a corporate approach to the needs of young people in the City and a continuous effort to increase their access to appropriate services;
- ensure paid staff and volunteers who work with young people are effectively trained;
- recognise the importance of families and local communities in providing essential support to young people; encourage the involvement of local adults and community groups in offering welcoming and supportive provision for young people;
- combat discrimination in services to young people, especially on grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, disability or religion; provide avenues for support to youths faced with harassment or discrimination in the wider community;
- help build understanding across racial, cultural, ethnic and generational barriers;
- co-ordinate services to protect youths from exploitation and abuse, investigate their complaints seriously and thoroughly; publicise its points for confidential referral;
- support young people in resisting criminal activity, while recognising that young people are more frequently in fear of crime and victims of crime themselves.

The provision of services to young people will include programmes to address the physical and mental health of young people and enable them to develop positive and healthy lifestyles for themselves, a broad range of leisure, recreational and creative activities, opportunities for social education and informal learning; high quality education and training to help young people develop transferable skills and increase their ability to take advantage of employment opportunities, programmes to help young people engage in creating a safe and sustainable environment, accessible and straightforward information on a range of issues such as training, benefits, housing and education, measures to improve young people's ability to travel safely and cheaply throughout their city. The City Council has the following objectives for service delivery:

- involve young people in planning and decision making, enhance their understanding of active citizenship;

- increase and make available clear information for young people in straightforward language and accessible forms of communication;
- implement measures to assist young people to develop a healthy lifestyle and resist damaging behaviours;
- offer high quality education/training, develop transferable skills in young people;
- ensure staff and volunteers engaged in work with young people have appropriate training and support;
- foster schemes to help bridge barriers to harmony, understand their place in a local, national and international community;
- increase access to services by appropriate measures (addressing geographical mobility, improved publicity, pricing policies and safety);
- involve young people in an understanding of their environment and in efforts to increase sustainability;
- co-ordinate/publicise methods of protecting youths from abuse and exploitation;
- discrimination in services to youths, develop schemes to address the specific needs of particular groups facing disadvantage;
- offer a wide range of stimulating, creative and educational opportunities outside school or work;
- ensure the Housing Service meets the requirements of youths and they are involved in shaping its future.

Illustrative Projects

Little youth work in the UK has a specific focus on crime prevention -most projects focus on personal and social development and subsume the aim of crime prevention within this more positive framework. However, there are a number of projects that are worthy of mentioning for their contribution to crime prevention and community safety.

Nationally

- Prevention in schools: Citizenship and Crime – London Secondary Schools – aims to challenge young peoples' attitudes to offending, anti-social behaviour and discrimination and to stimulate them to make a more positive contribution to their local communities.
- Facing the Consequences': resource pack for schools actively encouraging youths to address the issue of shop theft) developed in conjunction with the

national curriculum advisers to 13-16 year-olds). Publication followed a survey to find out youths' attitudes to crime and punishment (86% of young people think that shoplifting is committed by young people. Opinion was evenly divided on the causes of shoplifting between poverty and economic reasons versus excitement. The most serious crimes were seen to be drug dealing, mugging, burglary and drinking and driving. Two thirds of 14-18 year-olds favoured a national ID-card scheme, 16 % were opposed to it on the grounds of civil liberties).

- Spotlight on Crime and Punishment: activity pack from Save the Children's Education Unit for use with groups of young people.
- Youth empowerment programmes: e.g. Youth Action Groups (young people work out solutions), Barclays New Features (and initiative linked to National Curriculum), Changemakers, Princes Trust, EMPOWER, Duke of Edinburgh, Youth Awards.
- The Dalston Youth Project: mentoring and educational support programme for 15-18 year-olds who have been excluded from school and are at risk of becoming persistent offenders (the area had 40% youth unemployment). The project aims to turn the young person's life around through a one year voluntary attendance. The results after the first year indicate: of those attending the project, 73% undertook college or training and there were 61% fewer arrests in the area.
- Youth Action Schemes: run by some 28 local authorities in England between 1993 and 1996, 60 projects in all; intended to enable youth workers to experiment with new ways of working with young people, particularly to reduce the risk to become involved in crime. The evaluation of this scheme demonstrated youth workers can successfully target and work with some of the youths most at risk, and develop successful interagency partnerships.
- Youth Activities Units: NACRO, funded by the Department of Health, run a number of Youth Activities Units designed to promote constructive opportunities for over 2,000 young people living in high crime areas.
- Youth Choices: Newcastle 1991 – to identify and work with young people aged 16 and 17 who did not appear on careers service records, were not in employment or further education, nor on youth training schemes. The group of 'missing' young people, comprising 6% to 9% of the target group, were considered to be the most vulnerable and most at risk.

In the first year of operation over 200 young people were contacted. 80 were homeless, many had been in care and a high proportion had been consistent

absentees from school. Of the 200, 88 took up youth training, employment or education and a further 56 were actively considering training.

Birmingham

- Information shops and publications: aims to empower and develop young peoples' life opportunities through access to high quality, accurate information developed with young people as the audience in mind. Youth Mix is a magazine for young people produced quarterly, and regular health updates are also circulated.
- 'Rites of Passage': undertaken in a play centre in inner city Handsworth. Its aim was to develop the self esteem of young African Caribbean children in the area, who demonstrate several risk factors potentially indicating future offending behaviour
- 'Faces not Places': developed from a local youth group working to 'Design out Crime'. These young people have been attempting to improve the safety of their area and this particular project emphasises the message that crime is against people and not buildings; it attempts to educate young people to look at the faces in the community and not places.
- 'Top to Bottom': organised by the Young People's Health Project in collaboration with local schools. The project aims to support children at risk in their transition from Junior to Secondary education – a time when they experience significant pressures to conform and comply, particularly with regard to smoking, bullying, and peer group pressure to become involved in crime. The project involves six junior schools and three secondary schools, across a double constituency area.
- Community Safety Single Regeneration Budget fourth Bid: one of the three core purposes is to reduce criminality by preventing youths from becoming involved in crime; 12 new community safety co-ordinators will be employed (some with a specialist brief impacting upon young people).
- Records of Achievement: A scheme for rewarding the non-educational efforts and attainments of young people across the City.

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7.5 Risky Behaviours of Youngsters Associated to Leisure Time in Barcelona Metropolitan Area:
Correlatious with some Psychosocial Variables.

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1 Introduction

A co-ordinated research project has been developed in five European metropolitan areas, with the support of the European Commission: Barcelona, Madrid, Amsterdam, Genoa and Porto.

It is a psychosocial oriented research, with the aim of identifying relations between psychological, psychosocial and other personal variables and different risk behaviours in leisure time. Because of our aim, we have not been working with representative samples, but with intentional samples including different sub-samples of youngsters behaving risky. The risk behaviours we have explored are the following.

Risky driving

We have adopted as "risky driving" any answer often or very often to any of the following behaviours: driving faster than allowed, not respecting red lights, not respecting stop or preference indications, driving after consuming alcohol, driving in forbidden direction, not using a security belt, skid driving, competition driving when regular driving, driving without licence.

Risky sexual behaviour

We have adopted as risky sexual behaviour any sexual intercourse with people not being a regular couple, not using condom.

Alcohol consumption

We have used two different measures of alcohol consumption. We have considered risky consumption to drink more than 210 cubic centimetres of pure alcohol overall every week, in accordance to the approximate report by each youngster (alcohol cc). We have also considered risk after subjective evaluations related to personal consumption, i.e., answers “often” and “always” to the item I drink more alcohol than I should (alcohol ss).

Drug consumption

We have adopted as risky behaviour in relation to drugs any consumption of cocaine, design drugs or hallucinogens at the time the questionnaire was administered.

Vandalic behaviour

We have adopted as vandalic behaviour the participation in any activity of destroying public property in urban areas, and also painting such properties.

Carrying arms

Any object that the subject admits carrying to be used as a weapon is considered “carrying arms”.

Violent confrontations

We have adopted as “violent confrontation behaviour” the participation during the last year in any of the following situations considered violent by the subject: fighting against other groups of the neighbourhood, fighting against people of other sports teams, fighting rival “tribes”, violence against people of other races or cultures, violence against marginal groups, violence against people with different political ideologies, violence against homosexual people or groups.

Some of the groups of psychosocial variables we have controlled are:

- Gender, age, educational status and self attributed social class.
- Leisure time available (week days and week-ends).
- Family cohesion and conflict (psychometric scales).
- Social support (psychometric scales).
- Religion, ideologies and values.

- Self-esteem and mastery (psychometric scales).
- Satisfaction with life, and with different domains.
- Peers relations.
- Work and money available.
- Affective situation.

In this article we are presenting a preliminary analysis of selected results of the Spanish (Barcelona) sample. It included three deprived or slum areas, two lower-middle class areas, two medium areas and one affluent area. We have obtained 344 valid questionnaires of youngsters between 15 and 24 years old, 174 boys (50,58%) and 169 girls (49,42%). Almost half of the sample is under 18 (49,41%), and the other half is 18 to 24 years old (50,59%).

2 Preliminary Results

Relationship between the different risk behaviours.

We have first analysed how often some significantly different psychosocial characteristics associated to youngster's use of leisure time are observed in more than one risky behaviour; and next, we have analysed the possible relations between different risk behaviours in order to identify how often they are associated.

Correlation of the variables shows, in short, one main outstanding result: There is only one scale that always gets significantly different results between each risky and non-risky behaving groups of youngster in the Barcelona sample: *perceived family conflict*. Youngsters declaring to have any of the risky behaviours we have studied, in all cases do perceive more family conflict than those not behaving risky, except for the ones behaving sexually risky, that, in our sample, perceive less family conflict than those not behaving sexually risky. But, in our sample this behaviour is under-represented and, therefore, no conclusions can be drawn about such relationship between variables.

Family cohesion is another psychometric scale that discriminates several – but not all – risky behaving groups from those not: that is the case of alcohol consuming, drugs consuming, vandalic behaving and arms carrying. However, in our sample, this scale does not discriminate between those driving risky, sexually risky behaving and violent confrontations behaving, and those not.

An unexpected result, contrary to the results of other researches, is that, in our sample, *self-esteem and mastery scales* do not discriminate between any risky and non-risky behaving group.

Risk	N=	Self-esteem	Mastery	Social support	Social support family	Social support friends	Social support others	Family cohesion	Family conflict
Drive	54	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes*
Sex	7	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes
Alcohol NLMH	L 181 MH 31	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes*
Alcohol y/n	195	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes*
Alcohol Week	125	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes*
Drug	38	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes*
Vand.	62	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes*
Arms	28	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes*
Violent c.front	97	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes*

Note: "*" means that risky group has got higher values than mean. Otherwise means lower than mean. L = low consumers; M = moderate consumers; H = high consumers; N = non-consumers.

Table 1: Subsamples of youngsters with risky behaviours in the Catalan sample: Significant relationship with psychometric scales

In Table II we can observe the results between each risky and non-risky behaving group in relation to other variables studied.

Too much leisure time during week-days appears in this research, as it was already demonstrated in previous other ones, to be a factor associated to some risky behaviours (alcohol and drugs consuming, and carrying arms), but not to all of them.

Gender, which in other researches appears associated to all or almost all risky behaviours, in our sample does not appear related to alcohol consume, drugs consume and sexually risky behaviour.

Age, which seems to be also associated to several risky behaviours in other studies (i.e.: risky driving, vandalic behaving), only appears related to violent confrontations behaving in our sample.

Risk	Age	Gender	Social class	Leisure w.-days	Leisure w.-end	Life optim.	Religion import.
Drive	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Sex	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Alcohol NLMH	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Alcohol Week	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Drug	No	No	Yes	Yes	Next	No	Yes
Vand.	No	Yes	Next	Next	Next	Yes	Yes
Arms	No	Yes	Next	Yes	No	No	No
V.Con	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Table 2: Sub-samples of youngsters risky behaviours in the Catalan sample: Significant relationship with other variables.

Analysis of selected results: In our sample, non-alcohol consumers are more often not driving risky ($p= 0,01209$), not drugs consuming ($p= 0,00002$) and not vandal behaving ($p= 0,01973$) than alcohol consumers.

Weekly regular alcohol consumers are more often carrying arms ($p= 0,0479$), consuming drugs ($p= 0,00003$), risky driving ($p= 0,00983$), vandal behaving ($p= 0,0034$), and violent confrontation behaving ($p= 0,06647$).

Moderate/high alcohol consumers are carrying arms, violent confrontation and sexually risky behaving more often than low or non-alcohol consumers. In fact, exactly 25% of moderate/high alcohol consumer youngster said to actually carry arms ($p= 0,00996$), and almost 50% say to take part in violent confrontations or vandal behaving.

Moderate alcohol consumers in our sample is the group of youngsters more often consuming drugs (cocaine, design drugs or hallucinogens).

Low alcohol consumers are more often risky driving than moderate and high consumers.

In Table III we can see if differences have been observed, in relation to different aspects of psychological well-being, between those saying to have each different risky behaviour and those not.

Risk	Life satisf.	Other aspects of well-being	Satisfaction with school	Satisfaction with work
Drive	no	no	- quality of teacher - relationship with teacher	No
Sex	no	no	- relationship to other students*	No
Alcohol NLMH	yes	- financial situation (NLMH) - role in society (NL) - sports/exercise(NL) - health (NL) - my own house (NL) - my own room(NL)	- quality of teachers (NLMH) - relationship to other students (NL) - training got (NL) - usefulness of training (NLMH)	- relationship with colleagues - salary - evaluation of work done - acquired experience
Alcohol y/n	yes	(idem)	(idem)	(idem)
Alcohol Week	yes	(idem)	better in all aspects	- acquired experience
Drugs	no	- health	no	No
Vand.	yes	- health	- personal effort - training received - usefulness of training	No
Arms	no	- neighbourhood	- relationship with teachers	no
Violent confront.	no	- sport/exercise*	- relationship with teachers	no

Note: "*" means higher value than mean. Otherwise means lowest than mean

Table 3: Subsamples of youngsters with risky behaviours in the Catalan sample: Significant relationship with other variables

Analysis of selected results

Life satisfaction, that is to say, satisfaction with life as a whole, is a key question in studies on psychological well-being. In our sample, this variable gets significantly different results between alcohol consumers and non-alcohol consumers, and between those behaving vandalic and those not; but differences are not significant for other risky behaviours.

Different aspects of satisfaction with school experience appear to be significantly different between the groups of youngsters behaving risky and those not, with the only exception of those drugs consuming (cocaine, design drugs and hallucinogens), who do not seem to have any different evaluation of satisfaction with school than those not consuming.

A different evaluation of satisfaction with job or work experience (among youngster who did have a work when they answered our questions) only appears between alcohol consumers and non-alcohol consumers.

3 Cluster Analysis: Summary of Key Results

In order to explore in a more globalized way up to what extent different risky behaviours may be associated, we have developed some more sophisticated methods of analysis. Due to lack of space in this paper we can only describe the several clusters of youths our analysis produced:

Cluster analysis suggests that in the Barcelona sample we can distinguish, globally, and according to the results of psychosocial variables, four groups of youngsters in relation to risky behaviours. *Alcohol consume* seems to be very relevant in making differences among the risky behaviour of these groups. That does not mean it is a causal variable. Our analysis only allows to establish relations between variables or groups of variables.

The most quantitatively important group is the one of *youngsters with low alcohol consume and no other risky behaviour in their leisure time* – only a very small subgroup does sometimes drive risky (10,1%). Low alcohol consume is a behaviour which has traditionally and culturally been considered “the normal behaviour” in the Catalan-Mediterranean culture. Such behaviour probably gets a strong reinforcement from the social environment. This group is more frequently composed by youngsters older than 21, and includes significantly more girls than boys.

The second most important group is *non-alcohol consuming – exceptionally they are occasional, non-weekly regular consumers – and show almost no other risky behaviour*. A sub-group of this cluster (29,6%) is sometimes in-

volved in violent confrontations. This group is more frequently composed by youngsters under 18, and is equally composed by boys and girls. Youngsters in this group often have lower income than the ones in the other three clusters.

The third most quantitatively important group (cluster 4) appears as low (70,2% of the members assigned to this cluster) or moderate/high (29,8% of the members) alcohol consumers and weekly regular alcohol consumers, but at the same time they develop a range of different other risky behaviours: violent confrontations (56,1%), vandalic behaving (50,9%), risky driving (42,1%) and consuming drugs (38,6%). This group is more frequently composed by youngsters between 18 and 21 years old, and includes significantly more boys than girls. Youngsters in this group often have higher income than the ones in the other clusters.

In the fourth group (cluster 3) we have got a small number of youngsters, only 23. They seem to be a group developing an important range of risky behaviours (they could be named the "pluri-risky behaving"): they often carry arms (69,6%), are involved in violent confrontations (87%), and/or vandalic activities (78,3%). They may consume or not drugs and alcohol: even if drugs and alcohol consume does not appear as the major characteristic of this group, the group includes the biggest rate of moderate/high/very high alcohol consumers (34,8% of its members) and of drugs consumers (60,9% of its members consume cocaine, design drugs or hallucinogens). This group is more frequently than others composed by youngsters under 18, and includes significantly more boys than girls.

Youngsters in the cluster 3 (fourth group) have lower self-esteem and mastery than the others, but differences don't reach significance. They perceive significantly more family conflict than others. Perceived family cohesion is lower than in groups 1 and 2, but higher than in the third group (cluster 4).

The third group (cluster 4) perceives higher family conflict than groups one and two. The lowest perceived family conflict is in group two, that, at the same time, is the group perceiving more family cohesion.

The first group perceives much more social support than the others in the scales of family, general and others; however perceived social support from friends has the highest rates in group 4 (cluster 3), that is the group with lowest social support perceived from family.

4 Summary of results

Perceived family cohesion, family conflict and social support appear to be important variables to analyse risky behaviours of youngsters in leisure time in the Barcelona sample. Particularly perceived family conflict has shown to be significantly different in all risky behaviours we have studied. All risky behaving

groups do perceive more family conflict than the ones showing non-risky behaving, except those behaving sexually risky that perceive less family conflict than others (maybe because of the perception of less family control). However, we must remind that our sexually risky behaving sub-sample is too small to draw conclusions on that behaviour.

Perceived family cohesion shows to have significantly different values among risky behaving and non-risky groups of youngster in the following cases: alcohol consuming, drugs consuming, vandal behaving and arms carrying. In contrast, perceived family cohesion does not show to offer different values among risky and non-risky behaving groups for the following behaviours: risky driving, sexually risky behaving and violent confrontations behaving.

Social support offers more complex results in relation with the different risk behaviours we are analysing. General perceived social support only offers a significant difference between non-alcohol consumers and low alcohol consumers.

Perceived social support from friends has significant clear different values between alcohol consumers and non consumers, in any of the measures we have used; but it shows no significant differences for any other risky groups.

Perceived social support from family has significant different values between drug consumers and non consumers, vandal behaving and not vandal behaving, carrying arms and not carrying arms, and weekly regular alcohol consumers and all other youngsters.

Finally, perceived social support from others (else than family or friends) only shows significant differences between those behaving sexually risky and those not.

Risky behaviours are not always associated. The majority of youngsters in our sample, with no alcohol consume or low alcohol consume only very seldom do present other risky behaviours, even though a small subgroup has violent confrontations now and than.

Moderate/high alcohol consume seems to be more often associated with other risky behaviours.

5 Conclusions for Preventive Intervention

Cluster analysis has identified a small group of youngsters (N = 23), more often than other groups integrated by under 18 and by boys with medium income, who are pluri-risky behaving, and are more often than others violent, either with violent confrontations, or with vandalic behaviours; they carry arms much more often than other groups and also do consume drugs (cocaine, design drugs and hallucinogens) more often than others. This group clearly

perceives more family conflict and less social support from family; more social support from friends; and they have lower self-esteem and mastery than youngsters from other groups.

This group should be considered a priority target group by social programs. The roots of their risky behaviours seems to be in a problematic relationship with their own family, usually associated with low satisfaction with some school related factors (mainly with personal effort to learn), with low satisfaction with life as a whole, with perceptions of the past being better than present, and with few expectations about the future.

A second target group to develop preventive activities is a little bigger group (N=52) mainly composed by regular alcohol consumers (low or moderate /high), who also present an important range of risky behaviours. In this group the perception of family cohesion is the lowest among all groups, and is also composed more often by boys between 18 and 21 years old with higher income than mean. They are often dissatisfied with their studies situation and level, and they have lower optimism about their life than the mean of youngsters.

Part Three:
Child and Juvenile Delinquency in
the Context
of Youth Policy

8 Youth Policy Perspectives

8.1 Juvenile Delinquency: Current Challenges and Strategies in Ger- many

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It is my task in this concluding statement to show various aspects of the current political discussion from the viewpoint of the German Federal Ministry for Youth. Of course, I will try to reflect the insights gained by this specialist conference. I think it is important in discussions about German youth policy to emphasize one main point straight away: most young people who show deviant behaviour are not permanent offenders. Mostly, juvenile delinquency remains an episode and the majority of young people get over it. I would like to use this occasion to stress this fact. One should also realize that the most frequent offence committed by young people has always been shoplifting. On the other hand, of course, an alarming increase of violent crimes does exist. Starting from an absolutely low percentage, numbers have increased considerably over the last few years. Overall juvenile delinquency had dropped remarkably during the eighties; one should keep in mind that, currently, we are at the level of the early eighties again. So while there is no need to dramatize the situation, we should not look at it too casually either. It is a serious matter, because no one can predict if the numbers won't continue to rise much more strongly than in the early eighties. I do not want to risk a prognosis in this regard, and I would like to make it quite clear that juvenile delinquency remains a political concern. Hence, anyone dealing with youth policy in Germany pounces on this topic: both houses of the German parliament, the federal government, the ministers of the interior and the youth ministers of the federal states of Germany. It is an explosive topic of our time, and it will undoubtedly continue to preoccupy us after the next federal election in September. Let me try to give a cautious interim appraisal by highlighting three aspects:

- 1 Fighting juvenile delinquency is a task that concerns our society as a whole: the federal government, obviously, and the state governments, communities, schools, families, media, employers, trade unions, the Churches and, of course, the police and the courts as well. In this context, one hears again and again that it is important for the police and the courts to respond quickly in terms of repression. This is, among other things, a personnel problem. It is up to the federal states of Germany to provide a sufficient number of police officers, judges, public prosecutors and civil servants. No doubt, a high priority topic.
- 2 Another important task is to recognize early whether children who show deviant behaviour for the first time are starting out on a criminal career or whether their behaviour is, as I mentioned above, temporary and almost normal, so to speak. This has to be more closely investigated. An early diagnosis is imperative at this crossroads: is something hardening here, do we have to intervene, or are we dealing with something that will resolve itself and lead back to normality? A great deal would be gained if we had the right diagnostic instruments at this point.
- 3 Throughout the conference, another central theme was discussed, namely cooperation and networking. In many contributions, we heard they were a crucial strategic concept if not the ideal per se. There are various crime-preventive councils, many other forms of cooperation and networking, local youth welfare services work together with the courts, the police, youth offices, schools and voluntary organizations. The federal government has tried to initiate some (model) projects. It was important for us to tie up various activities and concrete forms of cooperation, some of which already existed. So we decided to set up a "juvenile delinquency prevention office" at the German Youth Institute, which has been repeatedly discussed here.

Beyond that, the Federal Ministry for Youth has the responsibility to work nationally and internationally on model projects. As you know, we have no competence at the local level, but we make extensive use of our competence to give recommendations. In the last five years, we have started about 25 projects and model projects which, along with the Munich office I mentioned above, can stimulate community efforts. These projects are very different: for instance, a national concept "sports and safety", an action program "living on streets", a program for "young people in special life circumstances" (street children), research projects, documentation projects in the area of youth work, help for families with violence-oriented children, information for parents about violence prevention, youth competitions, our "action program against aggression and violence" with more than 100 model projects in the new federal states, a model cooperation project "social behaviour in the community", a

model project "conflict behaviour among children in day care centres", and many others.

What future needs can we make out? That is an urgent and controversial issue. I will focus on two essential areas of work: one is the law, and the other is the professional field work.

If I understand it correctly, there is a growing consensus among law-makers in Germany not to change the age of criminal responsibility which is now 14. I realize there are other opinions, but they are clearly the minority or becoming the minority. I realize the situation is different in Holland, where they are sure to have good reasons for fixing the threshold at age 12. We want to keep it at 14, which I do not want to go into now for reasons of time. We do not want to change the law that determines the border-line between penal law for young people and criminal law for adults. In any case, that is the position of our ministry. We approve now, as we did in the past, that judges can decide whether to apply the one kind of law or the other.

Another highly interesting aspect, which also surfaced at this conference, is the question if we should stick to the principle of legality which has existed in German criminal law for over 100 years, i.e. that someone who gets into conflict with the law has to be prosecuted and that the public prosecutor and the police are obliged to apprehend and prosecute offenders. Should we abide by this principle with a view to children and adolescents and the penal law applying to them? They seem to be going different ways in the Netherlands. The situation in Germany is that we continue to have this principle of legality, but have tried to expand measures in the forefield of prosecution, in the area of diversion, educational regulations and offender-victim-compensation. So that in reality, we may well achieve similar results to those in the Netherlands. I will admit, though, that the topic of "abiding by the principle of legality" in the penal law for young offenders is worth being discussed, in Germany as elsewhere, even if I cannot predict the outcome.

There is another issue that law-makers in Germany might want to think about, although I mention this with great caution: there is a very high threshold where state intervention in parents' rights is concerned – and Article 6 of our Basic Law postulates clearly that education is predominantly the responsibility of parents. In principle, according to § 1666 of the Civil Code, intervention is only possible in the case of educational failure. On the other hand, in the area of child and youth services law, we have the principle of voluntariness. Parents can take advantage of services, but they do not have to. And this is precisely where we might ask if there isn't a gap. A gap that could be filled if judges were given more options prior to withdrawing parental authority. For instance, by committing parents to take part in educational counselling; or by committing the courts to point out youth work counselling provision; or by committing parents to take advantage of youth welfare services on a predetermined scale;

maybe even under penalty of limiting or withdrawing parental right of custody.

These questions all belong in the gap mentioned above. It's a difficult discussion, and I have no solutions, but it is one of the very few instances where changing the law might be possible – although the experts are very critical of such changes. My personal stand is somewhere between positive and sceptical in this matter. On balance, I would say that, in Germany and at the present time, we have no need to change legal requirements.

The second area, when looking toward the future, is the area of practical work, and I would like to confine myself to prevention and youth welfare services and deliberately leave out the courts and the police who are also important, although today I have only looked at them briefly. What I believe in is simple enough: the youth welfare services are called upon to fully apply a very modern, very progressive law, namely our child and youth services law. It is the federal states and the communities that have to take things in hand. I know very well about financial bottlenecks, but there are also structural bottlenecks, and often there is a process of growing awareness that we hoped the child and youth services law would help along, but which has not come to the expected finish yet. There are deficiencies in professional practice, and I wish that, the problem of costs set aside, the possibilities of assertive youth work and the broad spectrum of educational aids that the new law provides would, at last, be fully applied by the specialists. There is a lot on offer here: reaching from intensive socio-educational care for individuals via group support to different kinds of educational help. I think if we exhaust all those services, we're on the right way and one step further towards solving the problem we addressed at this conference. I also think it is right to be assertive about regionalizing youth welfare services more strongly, and how that happens will differ from one location to another. I found very interesting what Mr. Graffe told us on Monday about Munich. Especially in cities where youth offices cover very large districts (and that might also apply to youth offices in rural areas), it is probably difficult to operate from one central place. Therefore, the principle of regionalization should also be applied in this sector of assertive youth work more efficiently.

Let me finish by telling you what our institutionalized consultancies have passed on to us. There is a federal youth committee with 20 specialists in the federal government. They come from both the statutory and voluntary sectors and advise us on all aspects of youth work. Only last week, they were dealing intensively with the topic of juvenile delinquency. The committee gave a hearing, excellently prepared, at which the German Youth Institute and the crime prevention department were present, the latter including specialists from youth welfare services, the courts and the social service for juvenile cases. They came to the conclusion that the development concepts I have outlined were the ones that should be followed. Meaning: prevention, assertive youth work, and little or no need to change the laws.

Finally, I would like to comment on three points. The first one is passionate, highly controversial, difficult and burdened with ideology, i.e. the topic of residential confinement. The federal youth committee and experts at the hearing agreed: you must move away from ideology and taboos; youth work cannot refuse to deal with "residential confinement". There is a very small group of youths for whom, under certain conditions, it can be successful as a last resort. Personally, I think it is a difficult topic. I think it is more important to look for alternatives to confinement in institutions. Undoubtedly, we need a reliable framework for some young people, clear limitations and confrontations, but the question is if residential confinement serves that purpose. Maybe it is much better to provide preventive services which are just as effective. In the end, the federal states and communities must decide that for themselves, the federal government will not make any stipulations. Confinement is legally possible, but as far as I can see, only a very small group of offenders would fall into this category. In this context, I would like to make another point: there is a somewhat every discussion going on in Germany about residential confinement; and to be quite frank here: it's because the politically oriented public expects far too much from the instrument of confinement. There seems to be the notion that the problem of juvenile delinquency can actually be solved in this way. Which is entirely wrong. To begin with, it is wrong for quantitative reasons. Where tens of thousands of children and adolescents are concerned who get into conflict with the law, residential confinement cannot be effective. In some cities and towns, we are thinking on a scale of 20 to 30 children who could be considered. In Munich, there are about 160 adolescents who need serious care. So even in terms of numbers, it is a mistake to believe that residential confinement can be an ideal way to fight juvenile delinquency. I emphasize this in political discussions where- and whenever I can.

The second point, which was also tabled at the hearing, is the following: It is important to get social, individual and family problems into perspective, and not just the problem of crime. The whole inter-related field must be considered. And to say it once more: we are talking about extremely small groups, even if they take youth welfare services to the brink of collapse. Still, as the experts say, there is no problem area that cannot be dealt with from the start. Possibilities for intensive care exist. They cost money. We need additional resources to be able to cope. But with these special options for intensive care, which are expensive, we can achieve almost anything. Among other things, weekend care should be provided and financed. Moreover, youth offices and a number of voluntary organizations might want to think about changing their methods and structures in some areas.

I would like to touch on a third point briefly. Possibly, discussions are needed in the borderline area between youth welfare services and psychiatry, and model projects could be run here.

This is what I wanted to contribute on these topical issues from the point of view of the Federal Youth Ministry.

If I try to sum up the entire conference for myself, I would say it was most interesting, there were many details one could learn from, but there was also much common ground. Self-criticism granted (it is always appropriate to be self-critical), I would still like to think that we, at the Federal Youth Ministry, are on the right way.

In conclusion, I would like to thank my German and Dutch colleagues, the Dutch Youth Ministry and all those who contributed to the conference and its success.

Thank you very much.

8.2 Juvenile Delinquency: Current Challenges and Strategies in the Netherlands

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I am very grateful for this opportunity to exchange some thoughts with you on the phenomenon of youth crime. It is an important and complicated issue. The question of understanding is difficult enough in itself, but if anything, formulating a policy to combat and prevent youth crime is even more complex and unmanageable. This is shown by our experience in The Netherlands and Germany. In a way this has also been demonstrated by this conference. Which factors contribute to this complexity?

Problem "Policy"

When incidents arise, public opinion media and policy makers have ready solutions to hand: a firm approach to deviant behaviour and setting limits... in short: public opinion and policy makers tend towards repressive measures.

The question is, however, whether repression always helps; indeed as we all know, where repression is the only cause of action, it often proves counter-productive. Repressing and setting .. in the context of .. rearing is productive, a matter of context. Public opinion and policy makers tend to oversimplify the youth issue. This is what makes it so important to obtain the clearest possible insight into the wide variety of factors and the related problems that can have a bearing on the "normal" development and behaviour of young people. This especially applies to those factors that are of significance for the abnormal development and deviant conduct of young people. Conduct that can- in due course- lead to delinquent behaviour. In this respect it is a matter of particular interest to examine the conditions that society offers for the development of young people. This is the context in which a preventive and repressive approach must be defined.

As against the uncomplicated, uncompromising approach of punishment we need to develop an inspiring vision concerning the prevention of violence- no

easy assignment!

Problem "Research"

This assignment provides the grounds for this conference. In Noordwijkerhout, in 1996, we embarked on the intensive exchange of knowledge between Germany, The Netherlands and other countries- on a limited scale- concerning "Youth at risk". The initiative arose from a decision taken by Youth Ministers within the Council of Europe to promote the exchange of knowledge between countries.

The meeting of Noordwijkerhout examined a wide range of aspects of "Youth at risk". Very different subjects indeed: school drop-out rates, upbringing support, early identification of developmental problems, transition from school to work and the ethnification of social conflicts – and so on...

It was jointly decided to concentrate on youth crime and its prevention, with the emphasis on a practice-oriented approach. This means that the attention was devoted in particular to successful projects, which are then used to provide an affective- an theoretically sound- underpinning of government policy. So in Noordwijkerhout the discussion on the interesting interaction of scientific research, practical projects, and policy making took form.

While this may be a sensible approach it is not straightforward in practice. It is in this respect notable that virtually all the topics on the agenda at the Noordwijkerhout conference cropped up again at the following meetings, although with greater emphasis on their returns in terms of combating youth crime. Establishing the relationships between these factors and prevention also proved far from straightforward. It is for example, generally assumed that certain projects concerned with school drop-outs and the provision of employment prevent youth crime. That correlation has not, however, been clearly established in the research. To what is that attributable? To the definition of the problem? Or to the fact that the projects are often not evaluated over an extended period? Both factors, of course, play their role. Once again underlining the fact that we still lack the coherent vision to provide the basis for evaluative research. But the deeper underlying cause of this problem remains the compartmentalised approach towards youth problems. This is a matter of the programming of research. So public opinion and politicians tend to oversimplify the problem and policy makers and researchers tend to a compartmentalised approach. This calls for careful process of tuning both worlds a process of programming of both research and policy development.

The basis of such a programming activity should be the interaction between practise, research and policy making. We are trying to do something about this in the Youth Research Committee- about which I shall have more to say in a

moment. In that respect this conference may in my opinion already be regarded as highly successful. Why? Simply because a great deal of practical, research oriented and administrative knowledge is assembled here and being exchanged. On account of the inspiring debate this morning I can conclude that the interaction was as intense and creative as it should be... Another thing- which strikes me in particular, is the comparability of the social infrastructure in the Netherlands and Germany. Apart from differences, there are also great similarities. This makes regular exchange of knowledge both possible and meaningful. This is one of the things to which we need to devote continuing attention in the future.

*Research Programme of the Committee on Youth
Research - CJO*

The subject of this conference touches the core of both the research programmes and the policy development of our department.

To start with the policy

Youth deserves a place in society- youth deserves recognition! This is increasingly appreciated in The Netherlands. We are calling for an approach based on the place of youth in society. This calls for an interdisciplinary, interdepartmental approach. Above all, however, it demands that youth be taken seriously and involved in matters affecting young people.

"Youth participation" in local socio-cultural youth work, measures to combat unemployment, the prevention of school drop-outs and so on can help prevent young people turning to crime. It is a matter of giving young people a clear position in society. A feeling of belonging on a real and lasting basis is the best form of prevention.

This ideology- the place of youth in society- was the "Leitmotiv" of the research programme currently being conducted by the Interdepartmental Committee on Youth Research (CJO). This committee consists of civil servants drawn from a number of departments (Education, Home Affairs, Welfare, Health and Justice). The CJO embarked on a detailed research programme last year, in order to determine the most important considerations when it comes to the position of young people in society. I shall now shortly touch upon the Top Five of the programme.

Marginalisation and youth crime is the last priority referred to on the list. This does not however mean that this is the lowest priority. On the contrary! Youth crime is the most serious form of the marginalisation of youth and alienation from society. One might even be able to say that if the previous four

steps have failed, marginalisation and hence youth crime will be bound to increase. The committee regards attention to prevention, from a broad developmental perspective, and attention to young people's own particular vision and input, as necessary preconditions for giving shape to purposeful policies to prevent young people from dropping out of society.

With these Top Five, the Committee is in the first place seeking to bring together all the information and knowledge on young people available in the various circuits. It is not, as I noted before, just the case that youth policies are too compartmentalised; the research field is as well! All in all a good deal is known about young people and opportunities and stopping young people from dropping-out in the world of welfare, education, health and judicial research. On top of this there are various disciplines, such as psychologists, sociologists and political scientists, each with their own particular approach. Each circuit has his own ways of thinking and approaches towards the way in which young people can best be given opportunities and prospects in order to prevent from dropping out.

The question concerns the way in which this knowledge is to be brought together and how the government should make more effective use of what the sciences have to offer.

We have set up a research team for each of the Top Five topics. Each team contains experts from various disciplines. In a few months time they will jointly be issuing an initial memorandum reviewing the current state of affairs in the various fields, with recommendations for further research and policies. Some 35 researchers are now engaged on this subject, led by three professors whose names may be familiar to you: Professor De Haan, Professor Meeus and Professor Veenman.

As already noted, translating the insights of these researches into policy is a problem that calls for special attention. For this reason a temporary policy committee has been appointed, known as the "Outside CJO". This consists of experts in such fields as education, youth participation, youth health care, youth welfare and justice. The committee will be issuing its report at the end of the year to the CJO concerning the research and the policies in the various fields of the Top Five. The CJO is responsible for ensuring that the recommendations are translated into policy.

I have sought to outline the way in which youth policy in The Netherlands is trying to bring youth research and youth policy practice closer together. Youth crime calls for a multifaceted approach from all sorts of angles. The major obstacle in this regard is, and, I fear, will remain for the time being: how can we arrive at a coherent vision and approach towards youth that cuts across the various departments: a vision and approach that also provides the basis for co-ordinated efforts?

Whether we are dealing with judicial issues, an educational problem or a

welfare matter: how are prevention and care to be brought closer to one another? How is youth itself to be drawn into policy in an efficient manner?

Above all we need to remain critical, especially where we ourselves are concerned. In my view it is time for us in the Netherlands to convert the coherent visions consistently advanced in all kinds of policy documents into actual practice. We must make it our business to translate best practice from the many projects into best policy. The generation and dissemination of insight concerning relevant success factors in an innovative approach towards the problems is a task for policy makers research and the world of practice together.

Conferences such as this could in my view also contribute towards this process. The knowledge being presented at this conference is, after all, based on a broad vision of youth and youth problems. By way of logical extension, a follow-up to this conference and extended cooperation in The European context with respect to research and policy would be highly meaningful and hence desirable from that viewpoint.

How precisely should we proceed?

I wonder if a conference such as this is the most efficient way to go on. A conference such as this raise the question in my mind...

Many suggestions have been made this morning on follow-up activities. I should be pleased to invite the organisers of this conference to hold talks on this topic in The Netherlands. A suitable moment for doing so would as far as I am concerned be after the holiday period, that is in early autumn. We can then dot the i's and cross the t's and discuss the follow-up and establishment of relations with other countries as well. I think we should think of other forms of exchange of knowledge.

In this regard our basic concern should in my view be to take the broadly based vision on youth- the theme of 'youth at risk'- and to explore and develop it into a vision towards youth policy that carries resonance. And that a thematic approach is also meaningful provided the broad and positive vision is taken further in the countries concerned. But topics such as youth participation also deserve to be given a place, particularly the way which this can be encouraged and supported by the national government. I should like to conclude with a word of thanks to the Federal Ministry for Families, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, which has made this conference possible. The organisers, the German Youth Institute and the Verwey Jonker Institute, who have made this conference such a success also deserve our particular gratitude.

We will be taking a great deal away with us. And I promise you that we will be making good use of it.

9 Outlook

Crime Prevention:
Local Challenge, Transnational Exchange of
Experiences and Networking

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In many European countries, the number of crime suspects among children and adolescents has clearly increased in recent years. Discussions of this problem have not only considered repressive, but also appropriate preventive strategies. These discussions, however, are practically always limited to the national context. Discussions and developments in other countries were disregarded (Great Britain and the United States being the exception, although in these countries, repressive strategies have been emphasized to a larger extent). It was mainly the police and sometimes the courts who rapidly changed their approach. They could make use of the cooperation across borders developed, for instance, by Europol and Interpol, and they depended on close team work because of new security policies in Europe (e.g. the Schengen Agreements).

At first, it was the apologists of American police strategies who dominated the professional discussions of "prevention" in Europe and spoke up in the media. In particular, the "New York model", also known as "zero tolerance" and propagated by the Americans themselves, received close, and eventually controversial, attention. Crime prevention was put on the agenda along with crime prosecution, and in 1998, representatives of European ministries of the interior held a conference in London under the heading "Crime prevention – partnerships in reducing crime", where a Europe-wide network of "crime prevention" was founded.

The youth work situation was different. Across-borders information was fragmentary, and cooperation accidental and hesitant. There was, and there is, no Europe-wide network for cooperation and information exchange. However, tentative changes have begun to emerge in this field over the last few years. Innovative crime-preventive concepts from other European countries, especially the Netherlands, are being more frequently considered by German youth

welfare services. Reports appeared in specialist magazines, and contributions were made in mainly bilateral exchange programs among social workers with practical experience, especially those involved in juvenile court cases. Such activities, however, are rather cautious, lack coordination and depend on personal initiative. Up to the time of the conference mentioned above, there had been no systematic exchange of preventive projects and no communication between experts in crime prevention, neither throughout Europe nor bilaterally between the Netherlands and Germany. On the other hand, for some time now, crime preventive projects in both countries have continuously been interconnected – and this was an important factor at the conference, a very positive factor in comparison to other countries. In Germany, the process is not completed yet, and in other countries it is only just beginning: e.g. in Ireland and the Czech Republic, as far as we know.

Against this background, the second Dutch-German conference "Youth at Risk", focussing on "the prevention of juvenile crime", has broken new ground. Deliberately, the conference addressed Dutch people and Germans doing the actual field work in youth welfare services as well as schools, police and the courts – rather than politicians, academics or researchers. The experience of the former was to be the basis for discussions, their innovative approach to be presented systematically. In this way, the path can be cleared for a thorough exchange of opinions and ideas across the borders. Both countries will recognize what they have in common and where they differ, and networking can begin.

All members of the conference agreed that one essential parallel existed in the participating countries: their public debates saw prevention as "primary prevention", i.e. it had to begin early in youngsters' lives and before they could become hardened offenders. However, members of the conference also agreed that reality looks different. Social help usually comes too late: often, criminal behaviour of children and adolescents has already taken root, and intervention is in higher demand than prevention. Youth work projects feel on safer ground where intervention is involved, because there they have a more or less clearly defined target group (offenders rather than youths at risk) and can rely on the activities of the courts which are also clearly defined and publicly accepted. In Germany, social workers involved in juvenile court cases can serve as an example; in the Netherlands, the HALT projects among others.

The essential factors that cause delinquent behaviour must be known, if you want to work with a purpose and not grope around in uncertainties hoping, somehow, to be preventive. As all members of the conference agreed, one could not do without information on the behaviour of children and adolescents. How to get this information remained a controversial issue, considering the ubiquity and the episodic character of juvenile delinquency. Monitoring seems to be largely accepted in Dutch youth welfare services and is expected to de-

liver the information considered necessary for preventive policies; whereas German youth welfare services are clearly more sceptical in this regard. They also believe that information about the needs and problems of young people, on the one hand, and about youth help provision, on the other hand, is required, and they go to some length to get it, but they also consider the risk involved in interpreting these data to be relatively high in terms of stigmatising and keeping a check on people. From the German point of view, this means: required data collecting must be cautious, and protection against the inappropriate storage of computerized data must be guaranteed. It follows that data sources must be selected with care and the quality of data must be observed. Resources (personnel, equipment) must be kept ready for this purpose. Whatever needs clarification should be discussed promptly in the context of youth work planning.

One approach that starts early and in the daily environment of all children and adolescents is the internationally accepted empowerment concept. It enables professionals to react to potential delinquency at an early stage and in a preventive manner. It is an essential part of this concept to address not only young offenders, but all children and adolescents. It does not automatically discriminate against or stigmatise any particular group and reduces delinquency to a phenomenon among many others. The focus is not on delinquency as such, but rather on its causes. Individuals are seen and accepted in their everyday surroundings, and attention is given primarily to existing chances and limits of prevention. The risk of isolating and segregating children and adolescents is reduced considerably, which is essentially what the concept intends. The everyday environment and its networks are integrated into youth welfare projects. In this way, delinquency is only seen as a signal for (possibly) various other problems. Problem solving strategies must take this into consideration.

As discussions about the empowerment concept progressed, two problems became clearly recognizable that concern the prevention of juvenile delinquency as a whole, without having been sufficiently dealt with. Firstly, it is a fact that any social reaction to delinquency, as far as both young people and the experts are concerned, occurs inevitably on a scale reaching from voluntary cooperation to social constraints. In preventive projects, professionals must move somewhere between letting young people do their thing and making them aware of certain limits, and it must be unambiguous what is meant in either case. Clarity is indispensable. Discussions at the conference showed that both components are important aspects of professional behaviour, always and at the same time. They are inseparable. The actual balance between them makes clear where exactly the limits for individuals are drawn, sometimes in a broader, sometimes in a narrower sense. Thus, the scope for all participating

parties is determined, as well, their choices and their possibilities to act, with or against one another.

Secondly, the question has been raised whether and how young people should be involved in the negotiating process regarding freedom or constraints. Participation has meanwhile become a world-wide public demand and has gained in importance against the background of the UN children's rights convention; nevertheless, the actual participation of children and adolescents is only just beginning, in particular if they are delinquents. To put it differently: in this area of youth work, the same mechanism applies – the more difficult young people are from the adult perspective, the less scope for participation they are granted. This problem has been slow to enter the discussions and has been largely ignored by the parties concerned who prefer restrictive policies.

Specialists working in institutions depend on the same general conditions as do people working on projects. They have different degrees of freedom and obligation. And these differences have far-reaching effects on preventive policies in each country. In Germany, for instance, youth welfare services and the police clearly have different degrees of freedom to act. The police abide by the principle of legality and have to report every offence regardless of the person involved, of the facts and the general conditions surrounding the case – whereas youth welfare services have certain choices. They can interpret the facts and make decisions related to the situation they find. Consequently, both youth welfare services and the police, in some situations, come into conflict with one another or with their respective roles and cannot react flexibly.

Moreover, the same institutions and professions (e.g. the police) have different degrees of freedom in different countries. The principle of legality determines the activities of the German police, whereas the Netherlands apply the principle of appropriateness when prosecuting juvenile delinquency. Finally, we have to admit that the balance between voluntary cooperation and social constraints and how that affects preventive policy is not being discussed in all countries with equal urgency. The conference has taken a first step in the right direction.

In all national and international discussions, cooperation is a term frequently used. All countries demand a kind of cooperation that spans institutions and areas of involvement, but it is not always achieved, or it is achieved in different ways. What materialized was that chances and limits of cooperation are determined in different ways by different patterns of consistency and different positions allocated in the social balance of power. Where crime prevention is concerned, all countries grant their law-and-order agencies (police, the courts) a lot of responsibility. Their position is secure and dominates other organizations such as youth welfare services which, historically, have followed social rather than legal policies and developed out of state-run welfare agencies. In contrast to the tightly organized police force and court system, youth work in

Germany is more decentralized and diverse. Cooperation between these partners is not easy, since their social relevance is so different. Moreover, the Dutch-German comparison shows that traditions in both countries have led to different kinds of cooperation. The more community-oriented approach in the Netherlands systematically integrates youth work, the police, the employment agencies and government offices responsible for non-Dutch residents. The so-called "crime-preventive councils" in Germany have recently started to try out such cooperative strategies in the regions and communities, but they do not have the experience of many years as they do in the Netherlands. Cooperative structures have been built up there for a long time, whereas in Germany one is just starting to do so. Therefore, institutions and individuals working in crime prevention need to develop and draw on the experience of others. They should go beyond the Dutch-German exchange program and consider and analyze the experience of other countries such as Russia whose "commissions for juvenile matters" have been looking at cooperative structures for decades and might be a relic from Soviet times well worth keeping.

All European countries have had experience – some more, some less – with migration. Ethnic minorities, other languages, foreign cultures and customs, as well as religions hitherto unknown, are part of social reality nearly everywhere. Nevertheless, xenophobia, prejudice and anxiety continue to exist. In this context, public opinion and the media consider the delinquency of young foreigners to be a dramatic issue. In all countries, youth policy has provided different prevention services for these target groups. Language competence or knowledge of religious and cultural affinities differ from one project team to another. But it is precisely the respect for these complex ethnic backgrounds and their influence on young people's activities and attitudes that one would expect to find in crime-preventive service provision. If we look at German projects, however, we have to admit serious shortcomings in this regard. Neither the police nor youth welfare services have sufficiently qualified staff. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that not enough people involved in youth work are interested in relevant job profiles; on the other hand, general conditions in society are an obstacle, both in the welfare and the legal domain. And the opinion still prevails that people do not really want to be integrated if they don't know how to cope with German service provision. In this regard, the reality of service provision in the Netherlands seems to be more sophisticated. In contrast to Germany, the Dutch do not have a tradition of denying the facts, i.e. that the highly developed industrial nations of Western Europe have gradually turned into immigration countries. Recognizing this fact and making use of the Dutch experience could motivate German crime prevention to push forward and try out innovative methods. So far, there have definitely not been enough projects for these "difficult" target groups – in spite of the fact that, meanwhile, the percentage of non-German youths has risen sharply in many densely populated

West German areas. In some cities or housing schemes, nearly every second child does not have German citizenship.

Beyond the close Dutch-German cooperation, the conference wanted to include the experience and knowledge of other European countries in the discussions. That is why specialists from England, France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Spain were invited. They participated in the discussions, which we gained a great deal from. Meanwhile, an across-the-border exchange of experiences has become indispensable in a Europe that is growing closer and closer. There are similar problems in all countries and living conditions are becoming more and more alike (even if the pace of change varies). Therefore, all countries including those of Eastern Europe should be sharing their experience and making common arrangements as early as possible. They should do so, especially, if their youth policies do not wish to accept the dominant role of security. It is "high time" to establish contacts Europe-wide and to begin or to continue discussions.

This opinion, shared in various places, has led to an Irish conference early in 1999: "Breaking Through: Young People, Disadvantage and Crime" with participants from several European countries. (However, the Irish conference has no direct relation to the Second Dutch-German conference "Youth at Risk"). Specialists exchanged their experience of crime prevention and worked on topics to be discussed. An international workshop ("What do we do and what can we possibly do better with young offenders under the age of 14?") will follow in Germany in the fall of 1999. It will be organized by the Service Centre for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency of the German Youth Institute. Preventive concepts for an age group that, in Germany, is below the age of criminal responsibility will be presented and discussed. We expect the workshop to be informative and stimulating.

Not only the international experience transfer has clearly increased during the last few months. The transfer of crime-preventive project concepts from the Netherlands to Germany has also increased. Many European countries consider the Dutch concepts to be exemplary, innovative, flexible and successful. That is why the Service Centre for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency of the German Youth Institute, stimulated by the conference, has been presenting Dutch projects in its workshops, addressing German experts of crime prevention from various fields. German projects are expected to benefit from the Dutch ideas. The latter are expected to stimulate the German youth welfare landscape. This notion has encountered a lot of approval.

Beyond that, some successful Dutch concepts have already been adapted to German preventive field work. The conference was able to make a contribution in this respect. For instance, the program called "Intensive Field Support" (Ambulante Intensive Betreuung), developed by the "Institut für soziale Praxis" in Hamburg, is based on a concept coming from the Netherlands. It was modi-

fied to suit German conditions, and "Intensive Field Support" is currently being tested and evaluated. Possibly, the adaptation of other concepts or parts of them will follow. The professionalism of German youth work could gain a great deal.

An important contribution to the success of the conference was the fact that, for the first time in juvenile delinquency prevention, information about projects and concepts was exchanged internationally. So far, this had only happened on a national scale and, even then, not very thoroughly. Another important factor was that research, practical rather than academic, was taken into consideration. A critical stock-taking thus became possible, the focus was on significant problems, and research results could be transferred. This combination of factors could be a chance for the further development of juvenile delinquency prevention in Europe.

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